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„Mari Converb Constructions: Interpretation and Translation“

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1. Preface

1.1 Mission Statement

The need for this thesis became evident in Mari language courses at the University of Vienna in 2007 and 2008. Converbs, or paired verbs, are an ever-present phenomenon in Mari, not unlike phrasal verbs in English. Much like phrasal verbs, converbs are very difficult to truly grasp for foreigners – even for native speakers of Finnish, Estonian or Hungarian, as no analogous constructions can be found in Western Finno-Ugric languages. Otherwise comprehensive grammars of the Mari language (**Beke 1911, Alhoniemi 1985, Bereczki 1990**) each dedicate a few lines to this phenomenon. This is sufficient to get a general idea of the concept, but is not much help for people seriously attempting to master the Mari language.

Descriptive analyses of Mari converb constructions and comparisons with similar constructions in other languages spoken in the Volga region do exist (**Чхайдзе 1960, Чхайдзе 1967, Pischlöger 1999**), but they generally aim to analyze the etymology and typology of converb constructions in a broader sense rather than to provide an overview focused specifically on Mari that would be useful for didactic purposes.

The aim of this thesis is to present such an overview and to compare the usage and interpretation of Mari converb constructions to mechanisms found in other languages – not from an etymological perspective, but from a functional one. It seeks to determine what types of converb constructions are legitimate in Mari, what motivates native speakers of Mari to use them in certain situations and whether one can make analogies to other mechanisms of Mari such as verbal derivations. It also examines the role converb constructions play in the translation of literature into Mari.

After a brief introduction discussing the methods different languages use to give verbs these aspectual colourings, an overview of how converb

constructions are handled in various grammars, linguistic materials and dictionaries is provided.

With the goal of understanding the motivating factors for the usage of converb constructions, materials that have been translated into Mari are analyzed. An attempt is made to identify factors in the source languages that prompted translators to use specific converb constructions in certain situations. Where possible, analogies between Mari converb constructions and the linguistic processes discussed earlier in the thesis are suggested.

Finally, based on this research, an overview of this mechanism, as it is found in contemporary Mari, is presented.

1.1.1 The Mari Dictionary Project

At the time that this thesis was written, its author was involved in the Mari Dictionary Project at the Department of Finno-Ugric Languages at the University of Vienna. This project aims to create the world's first Mari-English dictionary. More information on this project can be found at <http://www.mari-language.com/>. A clear motivation for this thesis was the need to determine how converb constructions will be handled in this dictionary.

1.2 The Mari Language

The Mari language, referred to as Cheremis in older materials, is one of hundreds of minority languages spoken in the Russian Federation. It is a Volga-Finnic language spoken primarily on the shores of the Volga in the Republic of Mari El, a federal subject of the Russian Federation. Smaller communities of speakers can be found elsewhere in the Russian Federation.

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of speakers of Mari. Whereas some 604,298 residents of the Russian Federation identified themselves as Maris in the most recent Russian census (**Федеральная служба государственной статистики 2002**), it is hard to say to what degree ethnic self-identification is correlated with language proficiency.

In addition to a wide range of dialects, Mari has two literary standards – the Hill Mari and the Meadow Mari standards. Meadow Mari is the larger, dominant variant. All references to Mari in this thesis pertain to the Meadow Mari norm, unless explicitly stated otherwise.

1.2.1 *The Mari Cyrillic Alphabet*

Mari uses a variant of the Cyrillic alphabet including a total of five characters not found in Russian. Two of these characters are used in both variants of the language, two only in Hill Mari and one only in Meadow Mari.

Both variants:

Ӗ /ø/ like ö in German schön (close-mid front rounded vowel)

ӧ /y/ like ü in German Blüte (close front rounded vowel)

Meadow Mari only:

ӧ /ŋ/ like ng in English sing (velar nasal)

Hill Mari only:

Ӑ /æ/ like a in English cat (near-open front unrounded vowel)

ӑ /ə/ like a in English about (schwa)

This thesis exclusively uses the Mari Cyrillic orthography and does not use Latin transcriptions.

Examples from other languages using the Cyrillic alphabet – Udmurt, Chuvash and Tartar – are given in those languages' modern orthographies whenever possible and in Latin transcriptions when it is not.

1.2.2 *Conjugation Classes*

In accordance with modern international standards, most Mari dictionaries use the infinitive of verbs as their dictionary form. This choice involves

notable difficulties, as all Mari verbs fall into one of two conjugation classes that differ in all forms except for two – one of which is the infinitive, the other of which is the third person plural of the imperative mood. It is thus necessary to indicate which conjugation class a verb belongs to, either by denoting the conjugation class (I/II) or by denoting the ending of the first person singular indicative, which is **-ам/-ям** for Conjugation 1 verbs, and **-ем/-эм** for Conjugation 2 words. Unfortunately, many dictionaries do not do this consistently, leading to headaches that could have been avoided. Specific problems are discussed as they occur.

There are many pairs of verbs in Mari that are identical in the infinitive, but belong to different conjugation classes. In some cases, there is a definite connection between these words (**шинчаш^I** – to sit down, **шинчаш^{II}** – to sit), but most verbs that exist in couples like this are completely independent of each another (**возаш^I** – to fall, **возаш^{II}** – to write).

1.3 Methodology

A number of tables were created in the preparation of this thesis, the largest of which has 134 columns and over 7500 lines. It was clearly not feasible to include printed versions of these tables in the thesis itself. However, as they present highly relevant data, a CD containing them as spreadsheet documents for Microsoft Excel will be attached to each printed version of this thesis. Should this CD be missing from a particular copy, the files in question can also be downloaded from <http://www.mari-language.com/bradley-thesis>.

A brief introduction to the data mining software developed in our project is presented in the relevant section. A more in-depth description of our Mari Morphological Analyzer can be found in (**Bradley 2009**), a paper written for the Vienna University of Technology, but is also available in the library of the Department of Finno-Ugric Languages at the University of Vienna. A digital copy of this paper is included on both the CD and the webpage.

1.3.1 *Quotations*

Most of the materials used in the preparation of this thesis were in Finnish, German, Hungarian, Russian or Mari. Quotations from these materials have been translated into English in the thesis; where it was necessary Mari words contained in these have been adapted to correspond to the modern Mari Cyrillic orthography. The original quotations can be found in Appendix A.

Where it is helpful, page numbers are included in the quotations. This was not done, for example, in the case of dictionary entries, where it would have been redundant.

1.4 *Acknowledgements*

I would like to thank my colleagues Viktoria Eichinger and Angelika Parfuss at the Department of Finno-Ugric Studies of the University of Vienna for assisting me in the interpretation and translation of Hungarian source materials, Professor Sirkka Saarinen of the University of Turku for supplying me with invaluable resources for this undertaking, and Nele Lond of Tallinn, Estonia for proofreading this thesis' Estonian summary.

2. Verbal Aspects and Phrasal Verbs

2.1 Basics

When employing any natural language, one will at times want to give verbs a certain aspectual tone of some kind. In many cases, the language in question will offer words carrying similar, but not identical, meanings. A competent speaker of this language can select the word best suited in a given situation.

- “to question” – “to inquire”
 – “to quiz”
 – “to roast”
 – “to grill”
 – “to doubt”
 – ...

This approach is limited by the vocabulary of the language and of individual speakers. Languages also use more dynamic methods to create broader possibilities without necessitating the addition of new words. For speakers of English, the most straightforward tactic would probably be to use adverbs.

- “Step away from the car **slowly**.”
- “Tread **lightly**.”
- “He works **hard**.”
- “Sleep **tight**.”
- ...

However, as illustrated below, this method is but one of many possibilities used by the English language and languages in general. This overview does not claim to be comprehensive, as it only deals with languages relevant to this thesis – languages with which readers may be familiar and with which Mari has had extensive contact.

2.2 Strategies

2.2.1 Conjugation

Even though English verbal morphology is quite atrophied, English verbal conjugation is far from simple. Whereas any given verb only has a few morphological forms (e.g. to go: go, goes, going, went, gone), an extensive system of periphrastic tenses allows speakers of English not only to put verbs into a certain time frame, but also to indicate whether an action is, was or will be carried out progressively – that is, over an extended period of time – or not.

	Simple	Continuous
Past Perfect	I had worked.	I had been working.
Past	I worked.	I was working.
Present Perfect	I have worked.	I have been working.
Present	I work.	I am working.
Future Perfect	I will have worked.	I will have been working.
Future I	I am going to work.	I am going to be working.
Future II	I will work.	I will be working.
Conditional	I would work.	I would be working.
Conditional Perfect	I would have worked.	I would have been working.

Other languages, such as Latin, actually have morphological forms differentiating between perfective and imperfective actions, as the names of the imperfect and perfect tenses suggest.

2.2.2 Verbal Derivation

Derivation, the creation of a fully functional word through the addition of an affix to a base word, is frequently employed by Indo-European and Uralic languages alike. It can give speakers enhanced means of expressing themselves, without having to import new word stems from other languages.

Derivational affixes can be productive or unproductive. For example, the English verb-to-adjective derivational suffix “-able” is fully productive – competent speakers of English can freely connect this suffix to any verb and produce an understandable word on the spot.

-able:	to do	>	do able
	to read	>	read able
	to synthesize	>	synthesiz able

By contrast, “-dom” is an unproductive derivational affix. When attached to some nouns, it creates a second noun signifying the domain of the base word. When connected to certain adjectives, it creates nominal forms of these. One cannot, however, haphazardly attach this suffix to random stems, as the results yielded by such an approach are generally meaningless.

-dom:	king	>	king dom
	free	>	freed dom
	wise	>	wis dom
	blue	>	*blue dom
	modem	>	*modem dom
	sensitive	>	*sensitiv dom

As these examples illustrate, derivational suffixes have one or more source word classes and one target class. A particular affix can be connected to words of certain classes and will produce a word belonging to a certain word class. As the focus here is on methods of altering a verb’s meaning, only verb-to-verb derivations are of interest. A number of English derivational prefixes are used for this purpose.

un-:	to do	>	to un do
	to wrap	>	to un wrap
	to tie	>	to un tie

over-:	to look	>	to over look
	to cook	>	to over cook
	to do	>	to over do

Sometimes words with entirely new meanings can be created by this method. For example, the verb “understand”, created through the combination of the prefix “under” and the verb “to stand”, has no semantic connection with either of its parents.

While derivational suffixes of this type also exist in English, it is somewhat more difficult to put one’s finger on these. An example would be frequentative suffixes used to denote the repeated execution of an action.

-le:	to crack	>	to crack le
	to prick	>	to prick le
	to wade	>	to wadd le
-er:	to bat	>	to batter er
	to float	>	to flutter er
	to blab	>	to blab ber

Stem changes and the present-day obscurity of the stems to which these suffixes are often attached make these suffixes difficult to grasp. A more straightforward example would be German diminutive suffix -eln, used to create somewhat weakened alternatives of words.

-eln:	lachen (to laugh)	>	lächel n (to smile)
	klingen (to sound)	>	klingle n (to ring)
	kochen (to cook)	>	köche n (to simmer)

Unlike English and German, many Finno-Ugric languages, including Mari, have productive verb-to-verb derivational suffixes.

2.2.3 *Phrasal Verbs*

For centuries, school children have been taught that it is never acceptable to end sentences with prepositions in the English language. In response to his editor's insistence on following such rules, Winston Churchill is said to have noted that "this is a type of arrant pedantry up with which I will not put". Even though the attribution of this quotation is shaky at best, the sentiment expressed by it is clear to anyone proficient in the English language.

Words like "in", "out", "up" and "down", known primarily as prepositions, are in fact polyfunctional. Whereas they can indubitably serve as prepositions ("I live in France", "She went out the door", "He ran up the stairs", "They walked down the street"), it is not accurate to always refer to them as such. In many situations, they are adverbs of a sort. They serve as verbal modifiers that, together with the verb with which they are used, form so-called particle verbs, such as "to switch off". When forming sentences with this particle verb, it is in many cases necessary to place the particle after the phrasal verb's object - "Turn it off!"

In other cases, actual prepositions that require a complement are connected to verbs in a similar manner, creating so-called prepositional verbs such as "to look after". In such cases, the preposition must always precede the word or word group it refers to - "Look after him when I'm gone."

Particle verbs and prepositional verbs can be combined under the umbrella term "phrasal verbs". The intricacies of these will not be discussed here. It suffices to say that this mechanism makes it possible to modify the meaning of a verb and in some cases to create an entirely new meaning. Take, for example, the following incomplete list of phrasal verbs created from the English verb "to look", one of the most basic words in the English language:

1. to look after - to take care of
 "Look after your brother."

2. to look around - to look at one's surroundings; to search
 "I'll look around and see what's going on."
3. to look at - to observe, to watch
 "Look at me."
4. to look back - to think back
 "Don't look back in anger."
5. to look back on - to remember something
 "I often look back on my childhood."
6. to look down on - to consider inferior
 "He looks down on women."
7. to look for - to search
 "I am looking for my keys."
8. to look forward to - to anticipate with pleasure
 "I look forward to it."
9. to look into - to investigate
 "The police will look into it."
10. to look on - to passively watch
 "The people looked on as the rescuers dug through the rubble."
11. to look out - to pay attention
 "Look out for strangers."
12. to look over - to examine
 "I will look over the proposal."

13. to look to - to seek advice from someone
 “When I’m in need, I look to my friends.”
14. to look up - to search for; to locate
 “Look it up in a dictionary.”
15. to look up to - to admire
 “He looks up to his elder brother.”

One question raised here is whether it is possible to assign specific meanings to individual adverbs or prepositions. In some cases, this is relatively easy. Take, for example, “around”. Phrasal verbs containing this word have a definite tendency to denote a somewhat less target-oriented version of the base word.

to look > to look around
to play > to play around
to shoot > to shoot around
...

One could almost make a case for something resembling productivity here – it is relatively easy to form new phrasal verbs using this particle if it is semantically compatible with the verb in question. While “to google around” will not be found in the Oxford English Dictionary anytime soon, its meaning is clear to anyone familiar with the neologism “to google”, and can already be found more than 100,000 times when googling around, as of late 2009.

The same cannot be said, for example, of the word “up”. It is a lot more difficult to identify a clear, regular semantic relationship between base words and derived phrasal verbs in this case.

to look > to look up (to check in a dictionary)
to screw > to screw up (to make a mess)
to blow > to blow up (to make explode)
...

The possible phrasal verb “to google up” does not convey any clear meaning. Unlike “around” or “through”, “up” most certainly is not a productive verbal particle.

2.2.4 Declension

Baltic-Finnic languages such as Finnish and Estonian differentiate between so-called total and partial objects. Total objects are generally in the genitive-accusative case and in some situations in the nominative-accusative case (the nomenclature differs in Finnish and Estonian here), whereas partial objects are put into the partitive case.

While it is the nominals that are morphologically marked here, one could say that it is the activity to which these nominals are subjected that is aspectually altered. Compare the following two Estonian sentences:

“Ma tegin uk se lahti.”	-	“I opened the door<GEN>”
“Ma proovisin u st lahti teha.”	-	“I tried to open the door<PAR>”

In both sentences, the door (NOM-GEN-PAR uks-ukse-ust) is the object of the transitive phrasal verb “lahti tegema” - to open (literally “to do open”). In the first sentence, the door is a total object of this activity, meaning that the activity is perfective. It is initiated and completed. In the second sentence, the door which one attempted to open is marked as a partial object, making it ambiguous whether this activity was actually completed or not.

Even if one disregards the need for an object to employ this method, this tactic has its limits, as the partitive case has a wide variety of other functions, such as the following:

- Negation demands the partitive (e.g. Finnish “En syönyt leipää” - “I did not eat bread<PART>”).
- Certain verbs require the partitive (e.g. Finnish “rakastaa”, Estonian “armastama” - to love) in all situations.

- The partitive is also used to mark unspecific quantities (e.g. Estonian “Võtke veel õunu” – “take some more apples<PART-PL>”).

Also, word forms in Estonian are often ambiguous. Many words are identical in the nominative, genitive and partitive cases – e.g. “kana-kana-kana” – “chicken”.

Whereas there is hardly any declension in the English language, the presence or absence of an object does affect the meaning of verbs. There is no sharp line between transitive (to kill, to see) and intransitive verbs (to live, to die) in English. Verbs generally considered to be transitive can be used intransitively (“Smoking kills.”, “He can see again.”, etc.), intransitive verbs can often be used transitively (“He lived a good life.”, “He died a painful death.”), and a large number of verbs do not fall into either group by default (“to smell” – “to smell like roses” vs. “to smell roses”). Transitivity in English is derived from the presence or absence of an object.

2.2.5 Aspectual Converbs

“The abundant usage of the -ын gerund can be explained by the fact that Mari has adopted the usage of converb constructions, which are typical in Turkic languages, and uses the -ын gerund for these. The -ын form has a subordinating or coordinating relationship with a second verb, the “main verb”, as is the case in Chuvash converbs, for example.” (Bartens 1979 - 143)

While this regional phenomenon strikes speakers of major European languages as a strange concept, Christian Pischlöger’s 1999 thesis gives examples of converb constructions found in languages all over the world (**Pischlöger 1999**).

Converb constructions, or paired verbs, use an auxiliary verb of a sort in order to give the main word a certain aspectual colouring or in order to define the manner in which an action is carried out. Converb constructions found in the Volga region use a formula in which the verb that carries the semantic value is in the first position and in a non-finite form, such as a

gerund, and the auxiliary converb is in the second position and is conjugated as the finite verb. This second verb's actual original meaning is partially or completely lost in the process.

Language	Construction	Meaning	Lit. Translation
Udmurt:	кораса быдтыны	to cut down	(to) cutting end
Mari:	кочкын шындаш	to eat up	(to) eating place
Tartar:	яза бар-	to continue writing	(to) writing go
Chuvash:	типсе каяс	to dry out	(to) drying depart

(Csúcs 1990 - 61, Moio 1992, Poppe 1968 - 76, Benzing 1943 - 84)

2.3 Verbal Aspects in Specific Languages

2.3.1 Indo-European Languages

2.3.1.1 English

English examples were liberally used in the above illustrations of various strategies of altering verbal meanings. In summary, verbs in English can be modified by:

- Choice of tense (I ran, I was running)
- Derivational suffixes (to prick, to prickle)
- Derivational prefixes (to cook, to overcook)
- Phrasal verbs (to come, to come up)
- Adverbs (to read, to read slowly)
- Presence or absence of an object (to grow, to grow potatoes)

2.3.1.2 German

German has a wide variety of verbal prefixes. These are more difficult than their English counterparts in that they are always connected with the base word in the infinitive, but do not necessarily remain so when conjugated. German prefixed verbs can be separable or inseparable.

e inkaufen (to buy)	→	“Ich kaufe ein ” (“I buy”)
a nfangen (to begin)	→	“Ich fange an ” (“I begin”)
ver kaufen (to sell)	→	“Ich ver kaufe” (“I sell”)
ver stehen (to understand)	→	“Ich ver stehe” (“I understand”)

Some rare words’ prefixes are separable in some cases, but inseparable in others. The infinitives of these are only identical in writing – the stress lies on a different syllable in spoken language.

um gehen (to go around)	→	“Ich um gehe die Grube” (“I go around the ditch”)
u mgehen (to walk around)	→	“Der Kommissar geht um ” (“The commissar is out and about”)

2.3.1.3 Russian

Russian grammar makes a very clear distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs. Whereas the language, de-facto, uses suffixation and prefixion for this purpose, the fact that this aspect system is used so universally makes it more sensible to consider it a matter of conjugation rather than of derivation.

Russian verbs generally come in pairs. One of these verbs is perfective and the other is imperfective. In all other regards, the words are identical, and constitute one dictionary entry.

Different methods are used to mark perfective and imperfective verbs. One popular method is to attach a prefix to an imperfective verb in order to create a perfective verb.

<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Perfective</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
делать	сделать	to do
писать	написать	to write

Suffixes are used to create imperfective words from perfective ones.

<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Perfective</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
да в ать	дать	to give
вста в ать	встать	to stand up

Some pairs are formed from words derived from independent stems. Nevertheless, they still form a semantic unit.

<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Perfective</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
говори т ь	ска з ать	to speak
брати т ь	взя т ь	to take

At times there are several legitimate methods of creating one form from another.

<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Perfective</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
прыга т ь	по прыгать/прыг ну ть	to jump
крича т ь	за кричать/крик ну ть	to cry

Not all Russian verbs come in pairs of this type. A few selected verbs are used both for the perfective and imperfective aspect; a few only exist in one aspect or the other.

<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Perfective</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
вел е ть	вел е ть	to order
организов а ть	организов а ть	to organize
жи т ь	-	to live
жда т ь	-	to wait
-	заплак а ть	to start crying
-	пой т и	to go away

In Russian, verbal prefixes can also be used in a manner that actually does change the meaning of words, as is the case in German.

<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
-	ходить	to go
в-	в ходить	to enter
вы-	вы ходить	to exit
до-	до ходить	to get to
...		

In addition to this binary perfective/imperfective opposition, Russian verbs of motion form pairs with respect to directionality. Verbs denoting movements of any type have target-oriented variants (“to walk/swim/drive from X to Y”) and non-directional variants (“to walk/swim/drive around”).

<u>Target-oriented</u>	<u>Non-directional</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
бежать	бегать	to run
лезть	лазить	to climb
ползти	ползать	to crawl

Furthermore, Russian distinguishes between transitive and intransitive verbs. The reflexive suffix “-ся”/”-сь” is always attached to reflexive, passive and intransitive versions of originally transitive verbs.

<u>Transitive</u>	<u>Intransitive</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
учить	учить ся	to teach/to learn
удлинять	удлинять ся	to lengthen
прятать	прятать ся	to hide

2.3.2 Uralic Languages

2.3.2.1 Mari

In addition to the converb constructions central to this thesis, Mari also has a large repertoire of verb-to-verb derivational suffixes, a number of which are productive. A comprehensive analysis of verbal derivational suffixes in Mari can be found in Viktoria Eichinger’s 2006 thesis (**Eichinger 2006**). As a semantic analogy can be made between certain converb constructions and

certain derivational suffixes, a brief overview of suffixes enabling speakers of Mari to add aspectual colouring to a verb will be given here.

Alho Alhoniemi (**Alhoniemi 1985**) lists 20 verbal derivational suffixes that can be attached to verb stems, and sorts them into four different categories.

Fully productive suffixes:

1. -ал^I
- reflexive (to do something on one's one)
 - translativ (to become something)
 - passive (to be subject to an activity)

петыраш (to close something)	>	петыра л таш (to close)
пычкемышташ (to make dark)	>	пычкемыш ал таш (to get dark)
ышташ (to do)	>	ыш тал таш (to be done)

2. -ал^I
- diminutive (to do something a little bit)
 - momentary (to do something for a little while)

лупшааш (to swing)	>	лупшалааш (to wave)
мураш (to sing)	>	муралааш (to sing a little)

3. -кт^{II}
- causative (to make do something)

ышташ (to do)	>	ышты к таш (to make do)
шочаш (to be born)	>	шочы к таш (to give birth)

4. $-\pi^{I/II}$

- momentary (to do something for a little while)

- frequentative (to do something frequently)

шупшаш (to pull)

> шупшылаш (to pluck)

лӱмдаш (to name)

> лӱмдылаш (to call names)

Partially productive suffixes:

1. -алт^{II}

- momentary (to do something for a little while)

канаш (to rest)

> кан**ал**таш (to catch one's breath)

шарнаш (to remember)

> шарна**л**таш (to recall)

2. $-T^I / -D^I$

- causative (to make do something)

пураш (to enter)

> пурташ (to lead in)

виянґаш (to grow stronger)

> виянґдаш (to make stronger)

Weakly productive suffixes:

1. -ap^{II}

- causative (to make do something)

эрташ (to pass (as time does)) >

эрта**р**аш (to pass time)

верешташ (to get into trouble) >

верешт**а**ш (to punish)

2. -шт^{I/II}/-ешт^{I/II}/-эшт^{I/II} - frequentative (to do something frequently)
- momentary (to do something for a little while)

кудалаш (to run)	>	кудалы шт аш (to run around)
тӧргаш (to jump)	>	тӧр шт аш (to jump up)

3. -гал^{II}/-кал^{II} - frequentative (to do something frequently)

каласаш (to say)	>	калас ка лаш (to discuss)
возаш (to write)	>	воз га лаш (to write (frequently))

4. -лт^I - reflexive (to do something on one's one)
- frequentative (to do something frequently)

мушкаш (to wash)	>	мушкыл лт аш (to wash oneself)
ончаш (to look)	>	ончыл лт аш (to watch)

5. -тар^{II}/-дар^{II} - causative (to make do something)

вожылаш (to be ashamed)	>	вожыл тар аш (to shame)
ушаш (to be united)	>	уш тар аш (to unite)

Unproductive suffixes:

1. -ед^{II/I}/-эд^{II/I} - frequentative (to do something frequently)

колташ (to send)	>	кол те даш (to transmit)
пуаш (to give)	>	пу э даш (to distribute)

2. -едал^I - reciprocal (to do something with each other)

вурсаш (to scold)	>	вурс едал аш (to argue)
кучаш (to grab)	>	куч едал аш (to fight)

3. -едыл^I - frequentative (to do something frequently)
- reciprocal (to do something with each other)

пижаш (to get stuck)	>	пиж едыл аш (to pester)
чумаш (to kick)	>	чум едыл аш (to kick each other)

4. -кед^{II} - frequentative (to do something frequently)

шупшаш (to pull)	>	шупш кед аш (to tug)
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5. -ж^I - continuative (to do something for a long time)
- translative (to become something)

йолгаш (to sparkle (once))	>	йолгы ж аш (to sparkle (in general))
илаш (to live)	>	ылы ж аш (to come to life)

6. -ас^{II}/-аш^{II} - reciprocal (to do something with each other)

каргаш (to scold)	>	карг аш аш (to argue)
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7. -й^{II} (→ -я-, -е-, -й-) - causative (to make do something)

шуаш (to reach)	>	шу я ш (to extend)
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8. -н^{II} - many intransitive meanings

тўкаш (to touch)	>	тўкнаш (to brush against)
шуяш (to extend)	>	шуйнаш (to stretch)

9. -нч^{I/II} - continuative (to do something for a long time)

ўпшаш (to smell)	>	ўпшынаш (to sniff)
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2.3.2.2 Permic Languages

Udmurt, a second Finno-Ugric language that has been greatly influenced by Turkic languages, also has a complex system of converbs (**Csúcs 1990, Pischlöger 1999**). Although the second Permic language, Komi, is closely related to Udmurt, Pischlöger found no evidence for converb constructions in this language.

2.3.2.3 Elsewhere

Some isolated converb constructions can also be found in Mordvin. Constructions of this type cannot be found elsewhere in the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family, but can be found in Samoyedic languages such as Selkup and the now extinct Mator and Kamassian languages (**Klumpp 2002**).

2.3.3 Turkic Languages

2.3.3.1 Chuvash

In his 1943 Chuvash textbook (**Benzing 1943 - 83**), Johannes Benzing introduced syntactic constructions not unlike the Mari one consisting of a so-called affirmative instructive gerund and a second verb (3.1). In Chuvash verbs can be paired: the first verb is put into a gerundial form that he refers

to as the connective gerund¹ and the second form can be freely conjugated. He differentiated between three syntactically identical but semantically different groups of compound verb forms:

- Those in which both verbs retain their original meaning.

Construction	Meaning	Lit. Translation
пырса калас	to go there and say	(to) going there say

- Those in which the first verb qualifies the second verb.

Construction	Meaning	Lit. Translation
тухса ўкес	to fall out	(to) going out fall
илсе килес	to bring	(to) taking come

- Those in which the second verb qualifies the first verb.

Construction	Meaning	Lit. Translation
ситсе ўкес	to arrive at	(to) reaching fall
сывласа кăларас	to breathe out	(to) breathing depart
ывăтса ярас	to throw away	(to) throwing send

This third form, which Benzing cites as the most common of these three alternatives, closely resembles the Mari counterpart in both usage and meaning.

He also presented another similar construction using a different gerund, which could probably be translated as the aspectual gerund.

Construction	Meaning	Lit. Translation
кая тăрас	to go (many times)	(to) going stand
ватăла пырас	to slowly grow old	(to) aging go

¹ The language used in this book, which was published in Berlin in 1943, is rather peculiar from a modern point of view. Exact translations are therefore quite difficult.

He likened such paired verbs to German prefix verbs. To illustrate the difference between constructions using the connective and aspectual gerunds, he gave the following example:

Construction	Meaning	Lit. Translation
ларса юлас	to keep sitting	(to) sitting stay
лара юлас	to suddenly sit down	(to) sitting stay

Whereas the meaning of both verbs is retained in some form in constructions using the connective gerund, this is not the case in those using the aspectual gerund. It is easier to draw a line between these two kinds of constructions in Chuvash than it is in Mari, as Mari uses one and the same gerund for the counterparts of all constructions discussed here.

In addition to converbs, Chuvash uses a variety of verbal derivational suffixes, just as Mari does. A number of Mari suffixes have Chuvash roots, e.g. the causative suffix **-tap^{II}/-dap^{II}**.

Chuvash (**Benzing 1943 - 89**):

тулас (to fill up)	>	тул та рас (to fill something up)
тăранас (to be full)	>	тăран та рас (to satiate)

Mari (**Luutonen et al. 2007**):

вожылаш (to be ashamed)	>	вожыл та раш (to shame)
ушаш (to be united)	>	уш та раш (to unite)

2.3.3.2 Tartar

Whereas Nicolas Poppe's 1968 Tatar manual does not go into great detail regarding converb constructions, the usage notes on the so-called first present gerund definitely confirm the existence of similar structures, even if his nomenclature is different from that used by other materials treated here.

“The first present gerund denotes actions simultaneous with the main action and merging with the latter in one combined action. It also serves to denote actions which occur repeatedly. The verbal complement of most auxiliary verbs is a first present gerund [...]” (Poppe 1968 - 76)

His glossary has a number of verbs marked as aspect verbs, many of which match up in both original meaning and function as aspect giver verbs with their Mari counterparts (e.g. Tatar **кара-**, Mari **ончаш**^{II} - “to look” in its original meaning, “to attempt” as an aspect giver verb).

His manual also documents a large number of verb-to-verb derivational suffixes, many of which are again familiar.

3. The Mari Converb Construction

3.1 Syntax

The interpretation and classification of Mari converb constructions are not made any easier by the fact that they are syntactically identical to a variety of other constructions that have little or nothing to do with them.

Mari converb constructions are formed by a so-called affirmative instructive gerund, followed by a verb which can be conjugated freely. This section will first introduce this gerund and will then illustrate all the semantic functions this syntactic construction can have. This will illustrate the ambiguity that has to be contended with here.

3.1.1 The Affirmative Instructive Gerund

The affirmative instructive gerund is one of more than a dozen non-finite verb forms found in the Mari language. Its ending is **-ЫН** for conjugation 1 verbs and **-ЕН/-ЭН** for Conjugation 2 verbs.

толаш ^I	→	толын	(to come)
лияш ^I	→	лийын	(to be; to become)
мураш ^{II}	→	мурен	(to sing)
пуаш ^{II}	→	пуэн	(to give)

For some Conjugation 1 words that have at least two syllables in their stems, the ending is optional. (**Alhoniemi 1985 - 142**)

ошемаш^I → ошем~ошемын (to become white)

Alhoniemi only gives this one example and does not elaborate any further on when these shortened forms of the gerund can be used. A bit more information is given in the 1961 guide to contemporary Mari morphology.

“The suffix -ын is dropped in some cases. This results in a truncated form of the gerund, which coincides with the base form of the imperative mood. The loss of the suffix happens in the third syllable of verbs with stems ending in -ан, -ал, -ыл, -ышт, -эшт (orth. -ешт), -ыж, -эм (orth. -ем), -эд (orth. -ед), for example: нумал толаш в.м. нумалын толаш «to bring», шуншыл колташ в.м. шуншылын колташ «to pull», йодышт налаш в.м. йодыштын налаш «to question», ылыж каяш в.м. ылыжын каяш «to flame up», ошем шинчаш в.м. ошемын шинчаш «to pale» etc.” (**Пенгитов et al. 1961 - 252**)

While this interpretation serves as a good "rule-of-thumb" law, it cannot be considered to apply universally. A number of short gerunds formed from verbs with stems not ending in any of the letter combinations presented here can be found, e.g. кудашаш^I → кудаш (**Галкин et al. 1994 - 91**), ўпшынчаш^I → ўпшыч (**Галкин et al. 2003 - 193**). The short gerund in the second example is additionally subject to the stem changes which occur in first conjugation verbs ending on -нч in the imperative – cf. (**Якимова et al. 1990 - 50**). Furthermore, it is not clear when the short form is stylistically preferable and when not (see Section 5.4.3).

The affirmative instructive gerund is used for a wide variety of functions, many of which lead to constructions that are superficially identical.

3.1.2 AIG + Conjugated Verb

3.1.2.1 Government

The government of some Mari verbs demands the affirmative instructive gerund in some situations where people with limited Mari competencies might expect an infinitive.

(1) (Alhoniemi 1985 - 142)

Тудо мур-ен	мошт-а.
(s)he sing-GerAffIns	be.able.to-3Sg
'(S)he can sing.'	

3.1.2.2 Simultaneous Actions

This construction is used for two activities carried out simultaneously.

(2) (Alhoniemi 1985 - 142, Hill Mari)

Äkä-м	тыгыр-ым	ырг-ен	шыңз-ä.
elder.sister-Poss1Sg	shirt-ACC	sew-GerAffIns	sit-3Sg
'My elder sister is sitting and sewing a shirt.'			

3.1.2.3 Combined Actions

Sometimes the meanings of two verbs are fused to denote one combined activity.

(3) (Галкин et al. 1994 - 265)²

[Т]ы-гай	ночко	вургем	дене	кылым-ен	кол-ет
this-like	wet	clothing	with	freeze-GerAffIns	die-2Sg
'You will freeze to death in wet clothing like that'					

3.1.2.4 Verb 1 Qualifies Verb 2

In some cases, the first verb describes the manner in which the action denoted by the second verb is carried out.

² All example sentences taken from the 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary (Галкин et al. 1990-2005) are in turn taken from original Mari publications.

(4) (Галкин et al. 2004 - 306)

Тўня-ште ала-кө шуж-ен кол-а
world-INN some-who starve-GerAffIns die-3Sg
'Someone in the world is starving to death.'

3.1.2.5 Agent ≠ Subject

Should a sentence contain multiple activities carried out by several parties, the verb representing the activity carried out by the party that is not the sentence's subject is put into the affirmative instructive gerund. This gerund can directly precede the sentence's finite verb.

(5) (Alhoniemi 1985 - 143)

[Нуно] олымбал тем-ын погын-ен-ыт.
[They] bench fill.up-GerAffIns assemble-Pret2-3Pl
'[They] assembled, filling a bench.' (lit. '[They] assembled, the bench filling itself up.')

3.1.2.6 Previous Actions

This gerund is also used to express actions that happened before the activity expressed by a sentence's finite verb.

(6) (Alhoniemi 1985 - 143, Hill Mari)

Тыды паша-м Ышт-ен тол-еш.
(s)he work-ACC do-GerAffIns come-3Sg
'(S)he will come when (s)he has done the work.'

3.1.2.7 Verb 2 Qualifies Verb 1

In some cases, the second verb loses some of its original lexical meaning and instead expresses a directionality or mode of action that it transfers to the first verb in a pairing.

(7) (Галкин et al. 2003 - 399)

Тунам-ак пасу ўмба-ч вич-куд кеде чонешт-ен кўз-ыш.
then-STR field over-from five-six turtle.dove fly-GerAffIns rise-Pret1
'Immediately five or six turtle doves flew up from the field.'

3.1.2.8 True Aspectual Converb Constructions

Only constructions in which the second verb loses its original lexical meaning entirely and purely serves the aspectual modification of the first verb in a pairing can be considered to be true aspectual converb constructions.

(8) (Alhoniemi 1985 - 144)

Лўд-ЫН	кай-ЫШ-ЫМ.
get.scared-GerAffIns	go-Pret1-1Sg
'I got startled.'	

3.2 Interpretations and Explanations

This section will quickly review various materials dealing with the Mari converb construction. It will discuss how they define converbs and how many distinct verbs they cite as potential converbs.

Section 4.1 contains a table listing exactly which converbs are mentioned in which source.

3.2.1 Alho Alhoniemi

Alhoniemi gives the following definition of an aspectual converb construction (translated from the original Finnish):

"The [affirmative instructive] gerund is used to create the so-called aspectual converb construction. It contains a verb that, as the main verb, gives the activity an aspectual colouring; the gerund contains the semantic content of the construction. Many verbs are used as aspect givers. They lose their lexical meaning either entirely or at least partially. Some studies cite roughly 40 such verbs [...]" (Alhoniemi 1985 - 143)

Alhoniemi lists 39 different Mari words as potential aspect givers. He comments on the meaning of four of these verbs in converb constructions, but in the other 35 cases he only provides their original lexical meanings and does not discuss their functions as converbs.

3.2.2 *Raija Bartens*

Alhoniemi quotes Raija Bartens's 1979 publication on the syntax of infinitive forms in Mari, Mordvin and Udmurt (**Bartens 1979 - 143**). On the basis of systems used in Turkic languages (see 2.3.3.1), Bartens distinguishes between two different kinds of converb constructions:

- Copulative converb constructions, in which two synchronous activities are combined, as is the case in Chuvash converb constructions using the **-ca/-ce** gerund, which Benzing called the connective gerund.

(9) (**Bartens 1979 - 146**)

Вара оза	кўшт-а	савуш-лан	лект-ын	калас-аш.
then master	order-3Sg	overseer-DAT	go-GerAffIns	say-INF
'Then the master ordered the overseer to go and say.'				

- Aspectual converb constructions in which the second verb gives the first verb a certain aspect but loses its own meaning entirely, as is the case in Chuvash converb constructions using the **-a/-e**, or aspectual, gerund.

(10) (**Bartens 1979 - 148**)

Чачи	омаш-ыш	курж-ын	колт-еш
Čači	shelter.of.branches-ILL	run-GerAffIns	send-3Sg
'Čači ran off to the shelter of branches.'			

3.2.3 *Emma Yakimova, Galina Krylova*

Emma Yakimova and Galina Krylova's (**Якимова et al. 1990/1991**) two-volume Mari textbook, written in Russian, is unique in this list in that it was not explicitly written for linguists only – as the books' title, which in translation is "Mari for Everybody", and the many pictures of ducks and dogs found in them, suggest.

“The gerund with the ending -н is used in the formation of compound verbs with aspectual value or with a signified mode of action.” (Якимова et al. 1990 - 77)

Some examples of converb constructions given here suggest a close relationship between Mari converb constructions and Russian aspect pairs. The authors liken pairing a converb with another verb to switching the verbal aspect in Russian.

Mari	Literally	Russian	English
лудаш ^I	(to) read	читать	to read (imp.)
лудын налаш ^I	(to) reading take	прочитать	to read (perf.)
возаш ^{II}	(to) write	писать	to write (imp.)
возен шындаш ^{II}	(to) writing place	написать	to write (perf.)

It is unlikely that the authors actually considered Russian’s binary system in regard to verbal aspects as a good analogy for Mari converb constructions, but presumably made this simplification in the attempt not to confuse readers, who were expected to be proficient in Russian, but not necessarily competent linguists.

They also give an example in which they indicate a connection between converbs and Russian prefixed verbs.

Mari	Literally	Russian	English
чонешташ ^{II}	(to) fly	летать	to fly
чонештен толаш ^I	(to) flying come	прилететь	to come flying
чонештен каяш ^{II}	(to) flying go	улететь	to fly away

The authors also note that in some rare cases, the first verb can qualify the second verb. They give one example.

(11) (Якимова et al. 1990 - 77)

лүд-ын	онч-аш.
get.scared-GerAffIns	look-INF
‘to look with fear in one’s eyes’	

Constructions of this kind found in Chuvash were covered in Section 2.3.3.1.

3.2.4 Ödön Beke

Ödön Beke's 1911 Mari grammar (**Beke 1911**) talks of phrasal verbs in which the meaning of the whole is created through the fusion of the two elements.

What this grammar lacks in long explanations, it makes up for in examples, which use 21 different converbs.

3.2.5 Gábor Bereczki

"A peculiar form of Mari word formation is represented by the so-called paired verbs. The first component of paired verbs is always an adverbial participle, while the second one takes on the time and mood markers as well as the personal endings. In most cases the second component partially or completely loses its independency and changes the verb's aspect [...]"
(**Bereczki 1973 - 73**)

3.2.6 SMJa

The 1961 guide to then-modern Mari morphology (**Пенгитов et al. 1961**) provides a definition of what an aspectual converb construction is and also lists a few word groups in which one should expect aspect giver verbs.

- Verbs of motion (to go, to come, ...)
- Verbs denoting positions in space (to stand, to sit, to lie, ...)
- Verbs denoting an achievement or completion of an action (to reach, to end, ...)
- Verbs denoting actions done with one's hands (to give, to throw, ...)
- Others (to look, to stay, ...)

The authors of this book, like Alhoniemi, see a range of differences in the amount of lexical information that is lost in individual converb constructions.

They explicitly cite 32 converbs, all of which are defined in great detail. These definitions will be discussed when potential converbs are examined below.

3.2.7 *Mikhail Chkhaidze*

Mikhail Chkhaidze's 1960 publication on Mari converbs (**Чхаидзе 1960**) begins with the assertion that there is a general abundance of verbs in Mari and that even simple sentences can include two or three verbs, often in a chain without any conjunctions between them.

(12) (**Чхаидзе 1960 - 13**)

Эрпатыр	тиде	погын-ымаш-к-ат
Erpatyr	this	meet-NOM-ILL-and

ми-ен	тол-аш	шон-ен	пышт-ен.
go-GerAffIns	come-INF	think-GerAffIns	place-Pret2

'Erpatyr decided to go to this meeting'

When introducing converb constructions, he gives an example in which five verbs appear in a row. He does not see a subordinating relationship of any kind between any of them.

(13) (**Чхаидзе 1960 - 16**)

Курж-ын	тол-ын	пур-ен	лект-ын	кай-ыш.
run-GerAffIns	come-GerAffIns	enter-GerAffIns	go-GerAffIns	go-Pret2

'(S)he called on (someone).'

He proposes a classification of converb constructions into four distinct groups (**Чхаидзе 1960 - 20**).

- Type I: Equal pairing
 - "миен толаш" – (to) going come – to go
 - "пурен лекташ" – (to) entering go – to run into
- Type II: Verb 1 subordinated to Verb 2
 - "воштыл каласаш" – (to) laughing say – to say laughingly
 - "окшаклен мияш" – (to) limping walk – to walk with a limp

- Type III: Second verb loses part of its meaning
 - “пеледалт шогаш” – (to) blooming stand – to flourish
 - “толын лекташ” – (to) coming go – to appear
- Type IV: Second verb loses its original meaning entirely and only contributes an aspect
 - “мален колташ” – (to) sleeping send – to go to sleep
 - “йӧратен шындаш” – (to) loving place – to fall in love

A table accompanying his book lists 36 distinct aspect givers. It should be noted, however, that he handles a number of other verbs in the book that can be used in the final position of paired verbs. He disqualifies these as aspect givers, however, illustrating how they fall into categories I, II and III when used. He does this, for example, with the verb **ашнаш**^{II} – “to nurse, to raise; to keep”.

(14) (**Чхаидзе 1960 - 58**)

шылт-ен	ашн-аш
hide-GerAffIns	keep-INF
‘to hide away.’	

(15) (**Чхаидзе 1960 - 58**)

пукш-ен	ашн-аш
feed-GerAffIns	nurse-INF
‘to nurse and feed’	

In a later publication that was not available for the preparation of this thesis, according to Christian Pischlöger (**Pischlöger 1999**), the author (**Чхаидзе 1967**) includes the verb **кӱзам**^{II} (“to climb”), which he disqualified in his earlier book, as an aspect giver.

3.2.8 Zinoviĭ Uchayev

“When used in connection with an auxiliary verb, the -ын, -ен gerund often denotes the main action.” (Учаев 1993 - 141)

This textbook for Mari children is the only Mari-language resource handled in this thesis. While this single sentence devoted to converb constructions

does not provide any additional information, it is interesting to note that in the Mari original the sentence itself includes a converb construction.

3.2.9 Christian Pischlöger

Christian Pischlöger's 1999 thesis (**Pischlöger 1999**) focuses on converb constructions in Udmurt, but contrasts them to their Mari, Tartar and Chuvash counterparts. As all the sources on Mari used by Pischlöger have already been discussed here, no new Mari converbs are found in his work.

He classifies converbs as either transformative or non-transformative. Transformative actions lead to a condition being modified (e.g. to sit down, to stand up, to give); non-transformative actions do not (e.g. to sit, to stand, to live).

He makes a finer distinction in the case of transformative verbs, further splitting these into initial transformative and final transformative ones. Initial transformative actions have an evolutionary character. They are perfective actions that lead to a second, non-perfective action, which usually have a designation of its own (to sit down → to sit, to stand up → to stand, to lie down → to lie). This is not the case for final transformative actions (to give, to throw).

3.3 The Handling of Converbs in Dictionaries

3.3.1 Arto Moisio

For 27 different verbs, Arto Moisio's Mari-Finnish dictionary (**Moisio 1992**) explicitly states that they can be used as aspect givers in converb constructions, and gives notes on their function in such a context. For each of these, a brief explanation of its function as a converb is given, as are a few examples. The entry on the verb **шындаш** - "to place" - notes that it expresses an abruptness or finality and gives the converb construction **кочкын шындаш** - "to eat up" - as an example.

3.3.2 Ivan Galkin et al.

The relatively recent massive 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary (Галкин et al. 1990-2005) contains explicitly marked converb constructions, but in contrast to Moisio's dictionary it lists these under the first verb – the verb that contains the actual semantic value. The converb construction **кочкын шындаш** mentioned above is found under **кочкаш** – “to eat”. In the dictionary's introduction, the symbol used to denote converb constructions is explained as follows:

“Composite verbs with different aspectual values are given at the end of a dictionary entry in a paragraph after the presentation of all the meanings of the basic verb and are marked by two vertical lines //.” (Галкин et al. 1990 - 13)

The dictionary does indeed distinguish between converb constructions and the other syntactically equivalent constructions discussed in section 3.1.2. For example, when the following two pairings using the affirmative instructive gerund of the word **ешараш** – “to supplement” – are listed in the dictionary, the first one is cited as a converb construction and the second one is not.

(16) (Галкин et al. 2000)

ешар-ен	тол-аш
supplement-GerAffIns	come-INF
‘to increase’	

(17) (Галкин et al. 2000)

ешар-ен	тўл-аш
supplement-GerAffIns	pay-INF
‘to pay extra’	

This seems accurate. The second verb in the second example definitely keeps its lexical meaning.

Throughout the entire dictionary, in explicitly marked converb constructions, a total of 106 (!) different verbs can be found in the second position.

While this dictionary is certainly the most comprehensive and reliable dictionary of the Mari language available to date, it must be taken into consideration that it contains more than 4000 pages, compiled by dozens of editors over decades. One cannot assume that every editor had exactly the same conception of converb constructions. Actual errors are also a factor. For example, the following subentry of the word пуч – “stalk” – is explicitly denoted as a converb construction:

(18) (**Галкин et al. 2000**)

пуч-ыш воз-аш
stalk-ILL fall-INF
'to form a stalk (cereals)'

As the first element in this construction is an illative form of a noun, this classification is definitely false. In short, this important dictionary is not infallible.

3.3.3 Valerian Vassilyev, Zinovi Uchayev

This recent Mari-Russian pocket dictionary with roughly 7000 entries (**Васильев et al. 2003**) marks converb constructions in the same manner as the previously discussed dictionary. Its examples use 96 distinct converbs, many of which cannot be found in any of the other materials examined here. Two examples of constructions marked as converb constructions are:

(19) (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

гүжл-аш тўнал-аш
hum-INF begin-INF
'to start humming'

In this example, the first verb is in the infinitive, not in a gerundial form. Neither in form nor function does the construction differ greatly from the English translation given here.

(20) (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

ончыкы-лан	ямдыл-аш
forward-DAT	prepare-INF
'to stock up'	

In this example, the first word of a construction marked as a paired verb is not a verb, but an adverb denoting a directionality.

Given numerous obviously false entries of this sort, scepticism is advised.

3.4 Classification and Nomenclature

Some of the materials discussed above have attempted to categorize various constructions that use the syntactic pattern in question (affirmative instructive gerund + second verb). The resulting categories differ from each other – groups proposed by one publication span several groups used by other publications. For example, Raija Bartens (**Bartens 1979**) distinguishes between copulative and aspectual converb constructions. The second verb in a pairing must completely lose its core meaning to qualify as an aspectual converb. Alho Alhoniemi (**Alhoniemi 1985**) includes the verb **пурташ**^{II} – “to bring in” – in his list of verbs that can be used in the final position of aspectual converb constructions. When used in this position, this verb denotes that the activity expressed by the gerund is carried out in an inward direction. This meaning does not radically digress from the verb’s original meaning. Converb constructions using this verb would have been copulative, not aspectual, in Bartens’s classification. Her classification is thus finer than Alhoniemi’s in this case.

(21) (**Moisio 1992**)

шүдыр-ен	пурт-аш
pull-GerAffIns	bring.in-INF
'to pull in'	

The table below attempts to illustrate what the different categorizations have in common and what they do not. In the first column is a list of the categories established in Section 3.1.2. They represent the finest classification, including all possible subdivisions of constructions using this pattern, that can be derived from the materials examined. Where there is no line between categories, this means that the source did not distinguish between these. The thick line between the penultimate and ultimate categories in the column corresponding to Bezing's Chuvash grammar represents the sharp line between these categories dictated by the grammar of this language – a line that does not exist in Mari, as discussed in Section 2.3.3.1.

	Чхайдэ	Alhoniemi	Bartens	Benzing (Ch.)
government				
agent ≠ subject				
previous actions				
simultaneous actions				
combined activity				
verb 1 subordinated to verb 2				
second verb loses part of meaning				
true aspectual converb construction				

Fig. 1: Classifications of paired verbs

It would not make sense for the purposes of this thesis and our dictionary project to use a system with eight different categories, as the differences between some of these are not relevant to either effort. Instead, a classification of these verbs into four categories, indicated respectively by the letters one through four, is sufficient. The table below illustrates how these categories relate to those used by other publications.

	Чхайдзе	Alhoniemi	Bartens	Benzing (Ch.)	Bradley
government					3
agent ≠ subject					
previous actions					
simultaneous actions					4
combined activity					
Verb 1 subordinated to Verb 2					
second verb loses part of meaning					2
true aspectual converb construction					1

Fig. 2: A four-category classification

All further references to categories 1-4 refer to this classification.

Verb pairings in categories 1 and 2 will be referred to as “converb constructions”. The word “converb”, on its own, will be used to refer to verbs that occur, or can occur, in the final position of converb constructions.

3.4.1 Converb Type 1 - True Aspectual Converb

This group includes only verbs that can lose their core meaning completely when used in the final position of a verb pairing, such as **илаш**^{II} (to live) and **шораш**^{II} (to stand). Verbs falling into this category must be explicitly marked in the dictionary and an explanation must be given of their function and meaning when used in converb constructions.

It should be noted that not all verbs that fall into this category always have to be part of an aspectual converb construction when used in this syntactic position. Take, for example, the verb **толаш**^{II}. It indubitably deserves a place in this category.

(22) (Галкин et al. 1990)

виян-д-ен **тол-аш**
develop-GerAffIns come-INF
'to gradually strengthen'

However, not all constructions of this sort with this verb in the final position are true aspectual converb constructions.

(23) (Moisio 1992)

курж-ын **тол-аш**
run-GerAffInscome-INF
'to come running'

In this case, some facets of the original meaning are retained.

3.4.2 Converb Type 2 - Copulative Converbs

Verbs in this category lose some of their meaning when in the final position of a verb pairing, but not all of it. The verb **пурташ**^{II}, discussed in the introduction to this section, is a good representative of this category. Such verbs must also be explicitly marked in the dictionary with the same usage notes. A different symbol might be used here.

Unlike in Chuvash, the line between this category and the previous one is not sharp. Some categorizations might be considered subjective.

3.4.3 Type 3 - Government

As discussed in Section 3.1.2.1, certain verbs that require an infinitive form (**керташ** – “to be able to”, **мошташ** – “to be capable of”, etc.) use the affirmative instructive gerund and not the standard infinitive. Whereas these verbs are not relevant to this study of converbs, verbs’ government must be denoted in the dictionary when it is contrary to what one might expect.

3.4.4 Type 4 - Everything Else

Judging by Alhoniemi's explanations it would be reasonable to assume that any verb can appear in the final position of all other constructions. Certain verb combinations that are frequently used can be denoted individually in the dictionary. However, it would make no sense to mention that a verb can, for example, appear in the final position of verb pairing denoting two simultaneous actions, as it seems to be the case that any verb could do this.

4 Data Mining

4.1 Tools

4.1.1 Converb Detector

Using the already existing Mari Morphological Analyzer (**Bradley 2009**), the author of this thesis has developed a converb detector that can scan through large amounts of texts and extract all occurrences of the syntactic pattern under consideration. The second verb can be in any grammatical form, finite or non-finite. It lists the verb pairs identified along with the sentences in which they occur.

The screenshot shows a software interface for the Mari converb detector. It is divided into two main sections: 'Input' and 'Converbs'. The 'Input' section contains a text box with the following Mari text: "Мый адак вўташ пача дек лектынам. Ончем: ик пачаже, ныл йолжым ыреслен, пыкше шога, но... ок коло, кеч-мом ыште! Тудым мый вуй гычше кучышымат, шўйжым омсаш ишыктарен шындышым. Пача колыш. Ачам дек куржын пурышым." Below this text box are two buttons: 'transcribe' and 'analyze'. The 'Converbs' section is a large text box on the right that displays the results of the analysis. It lists the following verb pairs: "ишыктарен шындаш (-ем) Тудым мый вуй гычше кучышымат, шўйжым омсаш ишыктарен шындышым." and "куржын пураш (-ем) Ачам дек куржын пурышым."

Fig. 3: Mari converb detector

This application works purely on a syntax level. It cannot tell the difference between the four categories of paired verbs discussed above.

The detector's results can be sorted by a pairing's second verb. This makes it possible to obtain lists of all verb pairings with a certain verb in the final position and to analyze them.

4.1.2 Translated Texts

It is often difficult for non-native speakers to judge how much of a word's meaning has truly been lost when it is used in the final position of a verb pairing. One method proposed here is the comparison of translations into Mari and their source materials, in order to try to identify what motivated the native Mari translator to use a specific converb construction.

It is important to note that the author does not expect to obtain an accurate picture of the usage of converbs in Mari in this way. Jarmo Jantunen, in his 2004 dissertation, demonstrated a startling rift between the Finnish language used in translated texts and the Finnish language used in original texts (**Jantunen 2004**). Typical Finnish constructions used abundantly in original texts were shown to be far scarcer in translated texts. It is reasonable to expect that a similar phenomenon might effect Mari translations. The study of translated texts will purely focus on researching what drives Maris to use certain converb constructions.

4.1.2.1 Pollyanna

Eleanor Porter's 1913 tale of a little girl who, in spite of the great hardships of her life, never gives up her optimism (**Porter 1913**), is without doubt one of the classics of American 20th century children's literature. In 2004 a Mari translation was published (**Porter 2004**).³

A footnote in this book confirms what was to be expected: this book was not translated directly from English, but from a Russian translation. This is disappointing, as it prevents the stipulation of direct connections between English constructs and Mari converbs. However, in the absence of materials

³ It should be noted that even if this book might no longer be as popular amongst English-speaking children as it once was, its mark on the English vocabulary has remained. "Pollyanna" has entered American English as a word characterizing a hopeless optimism that will always, against all reason, find something positive about a situation.

translated into Mari directly from English, this book has nevertheless been used – with the Russian translation of the book (**Porter 1992**) always at hand, so that the intermediary language could be checked when confusing translations were encountered.

Jarmo Jantunen’s discoveries might suggest that converbs, as a typical Mari construction not found in the source languages of modern translations, could be rarer in translated texts than in original Mari texts. Before this assumption is taken too far, it should be noted that the first sentence alone of the Mari version of this book contains two converb constructions.

(24) (**Porter 1913/2004 - 9**)

Тиде июнь кеч-ын	мисс Полли	Харрингтон	шке
this June day-GEN	miss Polly	Harrington	own

пöрт-ш-ын	кухньы-шкы-жо	койыш-ыж-лан	келш-ен
house-Pos3Sg-GEN	kitchen-ILL-Pos3Sg	habit-Pos3Sg-DAT	agree-GerAffIns

тол-дымо	писы-лык	дене	пур-ен	кай-ыш.
come-PartNeg	quick-NOM	with	enter-GerAffIns	go-Pret1

‘Miss Polly Harrington entered her kitchen a little hurriedly this June morning.’

Converbs are inescapable in Mari.

4.2 *Starting Point*

The table on the following pages summarizes the data collected from the materials discussed. It indicates which sources consider which verbs to be potential aspect givers in converb constructions. Materials that clearly base their list of possible aspect-giver verbs on other materials (**Bartens 1979**, **Pischlöger 1999**) do not have columns of their own.

Green fields with a 1 denote explicit mentions of verbs in aspectual converb constructions. For example, if the line **возаш**^I has a green field with a 1 in it in the column “Moisio”, this means that Arto Moisio (**Moisio 1992**) explicitly denotes **возаш**^I as a converb. Blue fields with a 2 denote mentions of verbs as converbs that explicitly state that they are not true aspectual

converbs. Red fields indicate that there was no mention of this word as a converb in this material.

Every word's original lexical meaning is given. If a verb has several original meanings, only those relevant to the pairings in which they occur are listed. For example, the verb **келшаш** means both "to appeal to" and "to agree". Whereas the first meaning is the more common one, all pairings using this verb pertain to the second meaning. Thus, only this one is listed.

The column "Occurrences" lists how many explicitly marked converb constructions using this verb were found. The next column assigns a frequency ranking to this figure.

Verb	Moio	Big Russian	SMJA	Berecki	Beke	Alhoniemi	Čh2idze	Učajev, Vasiljev	Meaning	Occurrences	Ranking
ашна•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	to nurse, to raise	2	71
воза•ш (-а•м)	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	to lie down	85	14
вола•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	to fall, to sink	16	33
волта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	to lower, to drop	8	42
вонча•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to go over, to cross	3	60
воштыла•ш (-а•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to laugh	1	89
ила•ш (-е•м)	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	to live	30	28
йога•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to flow	3	60
йода•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to ask	1	89
йома•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to disappear	1	89
йөрла•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to drop, to fall	1	89
йёрта•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to extinguish	1	89
йёрыкта•ш (-е•м) [2]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to overturn	1	89
йўра•ш (-а•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to rain	1	89
каласа•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	to say	6	47
камвоза•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to drop, to fall	1	89
кая•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	to go	263	2
келша•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to agree	2	71
кельштара•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to adapt	1	89
кержалта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to jump at	2	71
керылта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	to collide	2	71
кеча•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to hang	1	89
кийыкта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to lay down	1	89
кия•ш (-е•м)	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to lie	56	24
кода•ш (-а•м)	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to remain, to stay	65	19
кода•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to remain, to leave behind	82	16
кола•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to die	4	55
колта•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	to send	317	1
колышта•ш (-а•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to listen, to obey	1	89
конда•ш (-е•м)	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	to bring	16	33
кондышта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to lead (frequently)	1	89
кораҥа•ш (-а•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to go away	1	89
кошта•ш (-а•м)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to go, to walk	160	8
коштыкта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to lead	3	60
көндара•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to persuade	1	89
кудала•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to run (on four legs); to drive	4	55
кудалта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to throw	64	20
куржа•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to run	5	51
куржтала•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to run around	1	89
кутыра•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to speak	1	89
куча•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	to catch	11	38
кучыкта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to put into somebody's hand	1	89
кушка•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to grow	3	60
кушта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to grow / to raise	2	71
күза•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	to climb, to rise	8	42
күзыка•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	to raise, to lift	2	71
кын'ела•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	to get up	3	60
кышка•ш (-е•м)	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to throw	40	27
лаптырта•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to flatten	1	89
лекта•ш (-а•м)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to go, to go out	100	12
лектеда•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to come out, to arise	2	71
лия•ш (-я•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to be, to become	3	60
лукта•ш (-а•м)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to take away, to remove	93	13
малта•ш (-е•м) [1]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to make sleep	1	89
мия•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to go	20	31
мода•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to play	2	71
муа•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to find	2	71
нала•ш (-а•м)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to take	245	4
налыкта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to make take	1	89
намия•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to bring, to carry here	2	71
нангая•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	to take away	15	35
оварта•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to fill up	1	89

ойла•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to say	10	40
ойыра•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	to divide	5	51
ончала•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to peek	5	51
онча•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to look	80	17
ончыкта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to show	6	47
ончышта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	to watch	1	89
оптала•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	to pour	1	89
опта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	to lay down, to stack	58	23
ошкыла•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to step, to pace	3	60
пелешта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to utter, to note	4	55
перна•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to hit	2	71
петыра•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to close, to shut	1	89
пида•ш (-а•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to bind, to tie	1	89
пижа•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to stick to, to get stuck	4	55
пижыкта•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to stick, to attach	1	89
поча•ш (-а•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to open	1	89
пуа•ш (-э•м)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to give	138	9
пура•ш (-е•м)	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	to come in	23	29
пуренгая•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to fall	1	89
пурта•ш (-е•м)	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	to bring in, to put in	15	35
пушта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	to kill, to slay	7	46
пызна•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to press against	1	89
пытара•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	to finish something	203	6
пыта•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to finish, to end	197	7
пышта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	to place, to put, to lay	62	22
савырна•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to turn, to rotate	11	38
сака•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to hang up, to hang	3	60
сенга•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	to win	6	47
ситара•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to supply	13	37
тема•ш (-а•м)	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	to fill up	7,5	44
тема•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	to fill	7,5	44
тола•ш (-а•м)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	to come	123	11
тошкала•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to step, to make a step	1	89
тошкышта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to stomp	1	89
төрла•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to flatten	1	89
төршта•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to jump	2	71
тушкалта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to poke	1	89
түкна•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to touch	2	71
түнга•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to harden, to freeze	1	89
утыктара•ш (-е•м) [1]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to drive into hysteria	1	89
чарна•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to stop, to halt	3	60
чия•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to dress	1	89
чыка•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to put in	2	71
чыта•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to tolerate	1	89
шалата•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to break, to destroy	1	89
шинча•ш (-а•м)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to sit down	126	10
шинча•ш (-е•м)	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to sit	52	25
шинчыкта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to make sit	1	89
шинчылта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to sit around	2	71
шогала•ш (-а•м)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to stand up	75	18
шогалта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to place; to stop	21	30
шога•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to stand	260	3
шогылта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to linger, to laze around	6	47
шорта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to cry	2	71
шуа•ш (-а•м)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to get to, to arrive	83	15
шуа•ш (-э•м)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to throw	48	26
шукталта•ш (-а•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to come true	1	89
шукта•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to lead, to accompany	64	20
шунгалта•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to dive, to fall	1	89
шурала•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to poke, to stick	1	89
шүлешта•ш (-а•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to gasp	1	89
шўта•ш (-е•м)	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	to drill, to bore	5	51
шўтла•ш (-е•м) [2]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to wear out	3	60
шўшка•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to cram, to stuff	1	89
шында•ш (-е•м)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	to put, to erect	244	5
шындыла•ш (-а•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to put, to erect	2	71
ышта•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to do	3	60
энерта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	to lean on, to rest on	2	71
эрта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	to lead, to take	18	32
эрта•ш (-е•м)	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	to go by	10	40
эрыкта•ш (-е•м)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	to clean	1	89
ямдыла•ш (-е•м)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	to prepare	4	55

An additional table contains one line for the affirmative instructive gerund of every verb found in the Mari language known to our database (7500+) and one column for every verb that was mentioned explicitly as a converb in one of the sources (134). All explicitly denoted converb constructions are marked in this table – the converb construction “**авалтен налаш**” is marked with a 1 in the **налаш**-column of the **авалтен**-line.

	кудалта•ш (-е•м)	куржа•ш (-а•м)	куржтала•ш (-а•м)	кутыра•ш (-е•м)	куча•ш (-е•м)	кучыкта•ш (-е•м)	кушка•ш (-а•м)	кушта•ш (-е•м)	куза•ш (-е•м)	кузыкта•ш (-е•м)	кын'ела•ш (-а•м)	кышка•ш (-е•м)	лаптылта•ш (-е•м)	лекта•ш (-а•м)	лектеда•ш (-е•м)	лия•ш (-а•м)	лукта•ш (-а•м)	малта•ш (-е•м) [1]	мия•ш (-е•м)	мода•ш (-а•м)	муа•ш (-а•м)	налаш (-а•м)	налыкта•ш (-е•м)	намия•ш (-е•м)	нангая•ш (-е•м)	оварта•ш (-е•м)	ойла•ш (-е•м)	ойыра•ш (-е•м)	ончала•ш (-а•м)	онча•ш (-е•м)
ава•лтын																														
авалте•н																						1								
авалткале•н																														
аваяяне•н																														
авансироватле•н																														
аве•н																														
авге•н																														
автоматизироватле•н																														
аеуне•н																														
авызле•н														1								1								1
авызлыкте•н																														
авыра•л					1																	1								
авыра•лт																														
авыралте•н																														
авыре•н					1																	1								
авыркале•н																														
авырна•лтын																														
авырыкте•н																														
аге•н																														

Fig. 4: Master list of converb constructions

It would take 685 A4 pages to print the whole list and the result would be neither intelligible nor useful. The Excel file contained on the CD attached to this thesis should be more useful. It can also be found online at <http://www.mari-language.com/bradley-thesis>.

4.3 *Potential Converbs A-Я*

This section examines all of the verbs that at least one of the sources mentions in the final position of verb pairings explicitly marked as converb constructions. It is first determined whether, based on the materials, the verb in question can truly be considered a converb and, if so, whether or not it is a pure aspect giver (Type 1) or if it retains some of its original lexical meaning (Type 2). If a verb qualifies as a converb, its usage in converb constructions is analyzed.

Up to now, paired verbs have been represented by interlinear glosses. As, firstly, the syntax of converbs has now been firmly established and, secondly, this section includes several hundred examples of such constructions, a more concise nomenclature is used in this section.

construction – literal translation – actual translation (**Source**),

e.g.:

ешарен толаш – (to) supplementing come – to increase (**Галкин et al. 2000**)

As a number of sources are cited quite frequently, complete quotations are not given at all times. The following designations are used:

“Chkhaidze” (**Чхаидзе et al. 2003**)

“Alhoniemi” (**Alhoniemi 1985**)

“10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary” (**Галкин et al. 1990-2005**)

“SMJa” (**Пенгитов et al. 1961**)

“Beke” (**Beke 1911**)

“Moisio” (**Moisio 1992**)

The header to each verb's entry notes the verb's transitivity in brackets and includes a number between one and four in parentheses. This number denotes the category into which this verb has been classified. In some cases, the parentheses contain several numbers split by slashes. This means that a verb falls into more than one category.

- ашнаш^{II} – to nurse, to raise [t] (4)

This word is mentioned once in the dictionaries and, in addition, is mentioned by Chkhaidze:

шылтен ашнаш – to concealing nurse – to shelter (Галкин et al. 2004)

пукшен ашнаш – to feeding raise – to feed (Чхайдзе et al. 2003)

Chkhaidze does not classify the pairing he gives here as an aspectual converb construction. Neither example seems like a converb construction, a true aspectual or otherwise.

- возаш^I – to lie down [i] (1)

This verb is classified as a converb by most materials; it is used in 85 distinct pairings in the dictionaries. Moisio defines it as a marker for abruptness and finality.

кўрлын возаш – to tugging lie down – to break loose (Галкин et al. 1994)

шуйналт возаш – to extending lie down – to reach out (Галкин et al. 2004)

ярнен возаш – to weaken lie down – to be exhausted (Галкин et al. 2005)

Based on these random examples, Moisio's interpretation seems convincing.

- волаш^{II} – to fall, to sink [i] (2)

This verb is less popular as a converb. Alhoniemi considers it to be one, 16 mentions are found in the dictionaries and Chkhaidze mentions it but disqualifies it as a true aspectual converb.

пёрдын волаш – to turning sink – to roll down (Васильев et al. 2003)

урын волаш – to breaking through sink – to collapse (Галкин et al. 2003)

чонгештен волаш – to flying sink – to fly down (Галкин et al. 2003)

In all of these cases, it serves as a directionality marker. It will be classified as a Type 2 converb.

- **волташ^{II}** – to lower, to drop [t] (2)

This verb's status is similar – Alhoniemi sees it as a converb, Chkhaidze mentions and discards it and it is used in 8 pairings in the dictionaries.

ўштыл волташ – to wiping lower – to sweep off (Галкин et al. 2003)

шўдырен волташ – to pulling lower – to pull off (Галкин et al. 2004)

шўкен волташ – to pushing lower – to push off (Галкин et al. 2004)

It seems to be a good transitive counterpart to the previous verb and will also be included as a Type 2 converb.

- **вончаш^{II}** – to go over, to cross [t] (2)

The dictionaries contain three mentions of this word as a converb:

төрштен вончаш – to jumping cross – to jump over (Галкин et al. 2002)

тошкал вончаш – to stepping cross – to step over (Васильев et al. 2003)

куржын вончаш – to running cross – to run across (Васильев et al. 2003)

The classification of these examples is debatable. One could say that the first verbs express the manner in which the second verb is carried out, but it seems equally convincing to see the second verb's primary function as marking the first verbs' directionality. If one was to subscribe to this interpretation, one could liken pairings using it to English phrasal verbs using "over" or "across".

- **воштылаш^I** – to laugh [i] (4)

The solitary verb pairing found here is:

лоткыктен воштылаш – to bursting out laugh – to burst out laughing

(Васильев et al. 2003)

This phrase is quite similar to the English one and it is certainly not a converb construction.

- **илаш^{II}** – to live [i] (1)

This verb is relatively uncontroversial as a converb per se, but there are some disagreements over its exact nature. The sources include 30 pairings using this verb. Alhoniemi lists this verb, but SMJa does not. Chkhaidze discusses it, but does not see it as a pure modifier. Moisio states that it denotes lengthy processes. His interpretation seems reasonable, judging by the following examples:

азапланен илаш – to worrying live – to be anxious (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

толен илаш – to stealing live – to constantly steal (**Галкин et al. 2002**)

шарнен илаш – to remembering live – to never forget something (**Галкин et al. 2004**)

Making a final call here is difficult. Facets of the original meaning could be read into these examples, simply because living is such an archetypically imperfective action. *Pollyanna* will be consulted before a final decision is made.

(25) (**Porter 1913/2004 - 16**)

[...] **тудо** [...] **шуко ий служ-ен да йöрат-ен ил-ен.**
 (s)he many year serve-GerAffIns and love-GerAffIns live-Pret2
 '[...] he [...] has served and loved for long years.'

Other examples can be found where this verb is used solely to signify lengthy processes and there is no mention of living in the source text. Thus, it will be classified as a borderline Type I converb.

- **йогаш^{II}** – to flow [i] (4)

The dictionaries contain three marked converb constructions with this verb:

шүйын йогаш – to putrefying flow – to discharge pus (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

шолын йогаш – to boiling flow – to flow turbulently (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

шоргыктен йогаш – to bubbling flow – to purl (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

The original meaning of this verb seems preserved in all of these examples.

- йодаш^I – to ask [t] (4)

This pairing is mentioned once:

шөрен йодаш – to deterring ask – to ask again (Галкин et al. 2004)

As the second verb carries the pairing's meaning, one cannot speak of a converb construction.

- йомаш^I – to disappear [i] (4)

Only one example can be found:

колен йомаш – to dying disappear – to pass away (Галкин et al. 1992)

The Russian translation indicates that this is possibly a more figurative way to say “to die” in Mari. This cannot be considered to be a converb construction.

- йөрлаш^I – to drop, to fall [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

шүртнен йөрлаш – to tripping fall – to trip and fall (Галкин et al. 2004)

This is not a correct classification.

- йөрташ^{II} – to extinguish [t] (4)

This verb is also only mentioned once:

пуалын йөрташ – to blowing extinguish – to blow out (Васильев et al. 2003)

As was to be expected, given how easily understandable this phrase is even before checking the translation, there is no converb construction to be found here.

- йӧрыкташ^{II} – to overturn [t] (4)

The verb's solitary occurrence is:

руэн йӧрыкташ – to cutting overturn – to fell (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

Whereas the second verb does qualify the first verb here, it does not lose its meaning. Baring more convincing examples, this verb cannot be considered a converb.

- йӱраш^I – to rain [i] (4)

The following construction is marked as a converb construction:

поргыктен йӱраш – to bubbling rain – to pitter-patter (rain) (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

The first verb serves to qualify the second verb in this example. It does not qualify as a converb construction.

- каласаш^{II} – to say [i] (4)

Five different converb constructions including this verb can be found in the dictionaries and one pairing is mentioned in Beke's 1911 Mari grammar.

кӱштен каласаш – to commanding say – to indicate (**Галкин et al. 1994**)

луктын каласаш – to removing say – to express (**Галкин et al. 1994**)

ӧпкелен каласаш – to taking offence say – to say offensively (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

туныктен каласаш – to teaching say – to advise (**Галкин et al. 2002**)

туштен каласаш – to guessing say – to hint at (**Галкин et al. 2002**)

манын каласаш – to speaking say – to say (**Beke 1911**)

While these are all interesting phrases that should be included in the dictionary, they are certainly not converb constructions.

- камвозаш^I – to drop, to fall [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

шӱртнен камвозаш – to tripping fall – to trip and fall (**Галкин et al. 2004**)

This cannot be considered a converb construction.

- каяш^{II} – to go [i] (1/2)

All sources classify this verb as a true aspect giver. With 263 explicit mentions, it is the second most popular converb on the list.

Alhoniemi describes it as a marker for momentary actions that lead to a result. SMJa refers to it as momentary, with a touch of finality, and states that it can only be paired with intransitive verbs.

лўдын каяш – to getting scared go – to be startled (**Alhoniemi 1985**)

Moisio agrees with this interpretation, but cites a second usage, as a marker for actions carried out in an outward direction.

куржын каяш – to running go – to run away (**Moisio 1992**)

чонештен каяш – to flying go – to fly away (**Moisio 1992**)

The first meaning cited here is purely aspectual, but the second meaning is not. The verb falls into both the first and second category.

- келшаш^{II} – to agree [i] (4)

This word is mentioned twice:

ойлен келшаш – to saying agree – to come to an agreement (**Галкин et al. 1998**)

кутырен келшаш – to talking agree – to come to an agreement (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

The main meaning is definitely conveyed by the second word.

- келыштараш^{II} – to adapt [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

кутырен келыштараш – to talking adapt – to persuade (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

This expression is not a converb construction.

- кержалташ^I – to jump at [i] (4)

This verb is mentioned twice:

миен кержалташ – to going jump at – to pounce upon (Галкин et al. 1998)

толын кержалташ – to coming jump at – to pounce upon (Галкин et al. 2002)

In both examples, the second verb's meaning is preserved.

- керылташ^I – to collide [i] (4)

This verb is mentioned twice:

миен керылташ – to going collide – to run into (Галкин et al. 1998)

толын керылташ – to coming collide – to run into (Галкин et al. 2002)

It is hard to interpret the first verb's function in these pairings. It is clear, however, that the second verb's meaning is preserved.

Chkhaidze discusses this verb as well, giving exactly these two examples. He does not classify this verb as a true aspectual converb.

- кечаш^{II} – to hang [i] (4)

This entry can be found:

лўнгалт кечаш – to swinging hang – to hang and swing (Васильев et al. 2003)

As the two verbs were fused to denote one combined action, this phrase does not qualify as a converb.

- кийыкташ^{II} – to lay down [t] (1)

This verb, derived from the verb **кияш** (see below) using the causative suffix **-кт**, is only mentioned once as a converb:

арален кийыкташ – to defending lay down – to protect (Галкин et al. 1990)

This pairing is very similar to the pairing **аралалт кияш** that will be listed under this verb's parent, **кияш**. In the dictionary, these two pairings are translated as the transitive and intransitive variants of the same Russian

verb – **арален кийыкташ** being the transitive variant and **аралалт кияш**, the intransitive one. This is not surprising, as **аралаш** and **аралалташ** have the same relationship in Mari. What role the altered converb – that is, an intransitive verb in the intransitive variant and a transitive causative verb in the transitive variant – plays here is hard to grasp; in both cases it expresses a durative aspect. SMJa explicitly states that **кияш** can be paired with transitive verbs as well as intransitive verbs (as it is in the example of **солен кияш**). Thus one cannot assume that the first verb's transitivity made this causative suffix obligatory.

This verb will be classified as a Type 1 converb, even though it might constitute a redundant entry, having been derived from an accepted converb with a productive derivational suffix the function of which is not quite clear. The suffix's original meaning is definitely not retained.

- **кияш**^{II} – to lie [i] (1)

This verb is used in 56 different pairings. It is denoted as a converb by Alhoniemi, Chkhaidze and SMJa alike. The latter describes it as a durative marker for both transitive and intransitive verbs.

аралалт кияш – to defending oneself lie – to protect oneself (Галкин et al. 1990)

солен кияш – to mowing lie – to mow (Галкин et al. 2003)

The fact that the translations of these pairings do not differ from the first verb's translations in the dictionary does not facilitate the interpretation of this converb, but does nothing to dispute the explanation given by SMJa. Taking convincing examples of durative actions marked with this verb in *Pollyanna* into consideration, there is no reason to mistrust SMJa here.

- **кодаш**^I – to remain, to stay [i] (1)

Counting sightings of pairings using this verb is difficult, as it and its Conjugation 2 transitive counterpart are identical in the infinitive. The dictionaries do not generally indicate which conjugation class aspect giving verbs in marked converb constructions belong to. After some deliberation, 57 to 73 pairings using this verb were identified.

In contrast to its counterpart, Moisio does not mention this verb. Alhoniemi does, however, as does SMJa, which describes it as a marker for finality and for actions having ostensible results that only paired with intransitive verbs.

волгалт кодаш – to shining stay – to flash (Галкин et al. 1990)

утаралт кодаш – to being saved stay – to be rescued (Галкин et al. 2003)

This seems convincing.

- **кодаш**^{II} – to remain, to leave behind [t] (1)

For this verb, 74 to 90 occurrences were counted. SMJa describes it as analogous to its counterpart, with the difference that it is only paired with intransitive verbs and not with transitive ones.

руэн кодаш – to striking leave behind – to hew (Галкин et al. 2001)

утарен кодаш – to saving leave behind – to rescue (Галкин et al. 2003)

There is no reason to argue with SMJa here either.

- **колаш**^{II} – to die [i] (4)

The dictionaries contain four paired verbs with this verb marked as an aspect giver.

аярген колаш – to being poisoned die – to be poisoned to death (Васильев et al. 2003)

кылмен колаш – to freezing die – to freeze to death (Галкин et al. 1994)

лўялт колаш – to being shot die – to be shot to death (Галкин et al. 1994)

шужен колаш – to starving die – to starve to death (Галкин et al. 2004)

In all of these cases, the original meaning of “to die” is retained. Based on these examples, this verb does not qualify as a converb.

- **колташ**^{II} – to send [t] (1)

With 317 confirmed sightings, this is the most frequently mentioned verb on this list. All the sources discussed here agree that this verb is a converb. Moisio assigns three distinct functions to it when used as a converb – he sees it as a marker for finality, for momentariness and for actions that one is beginning. SMJa agrees, adds that it can be paired with transitive and

intransitive verbs alike, and defines a functionality that it likens to the diminutive derivational suffix -ал, which is used to express a certain fondness for an action.

йӱын колташ – to drinking send – to drink up (**Moisio 1992**)

муралтен колташ – to singing send – to start singing (**Moisio 1992**)

шортын колташ – to crying send – to burst out crying (**Moisio 1992**)

Whereas SMJa illustrates the diminutive usage of this converb quite well with a sentence in which the gentle flowing of a river is romantically described, it will be very difficult to convey this function lexically.

- **колышташ^I** – to listen, to obey [t] (4)

One example can be found.

шулен колышташ – to melting listen – to listen with delight (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

While this phrase is confusing to those who are not native speakers of Mari, one can discern the second verb's meaning, which disqualifies the pairing as a converb construction.

- **кондаш^{II}** – to bring [t] (2)

This verb is featured in all three dictionaries, in a total of 16 different pairings. With respect to the other materials, only Chkhaidze's book mentions it, but then discards it as not being a true aspectual converb.

Moisio describes it as a directionality marker for actions carried out towards the speaker. This interpretation is consistent with examples found in his dictionary as well as in others.

поктен кондаш – to driving bring – to drive to (**Moisio 1992**)

нумал кондаш – to carrying bring – to carry to (**Moisio 1992**)

This verb is a convincing Type 2 converb.

- кондышташ^I – to lead [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

вӱден кондышташ – to leading lead – to lead (**Галкин et al. 1990**)

The first translations given for both verbs of this pairing in the 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary are identical (**водить** – “to lead”). Two synonyms, presumably differing in slight aspects, are thus paired. It stands to reason that the meaning of the pairing is not identical to that of either one of the original verbs, but it cannot be said that any of the second verb’s meaning has been lost.

- корангаш^I – to go away [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

тӧршталтен корангаш – to jumping go away – to jump away (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

As the similarity of the literal translation to the non-literal one indicates, it is hard to make a point that this is a converb construction, also if a point could be made that the second verb serves as a directionality marker.

- кошташ^I – to go, to walk [i] (1)

With 160 mentions, this is one of the more popular converbs. Moisio describes it as a marker for durable and continuative actions. SMJa adds that it can be connected to transitive and intransitive verbs, indicating that an activity is carried out at many locations.

воштыл кошташ – to smiling go – to smile (**Moisio 1992**)

солен кошташ – to mowing go – to mow in many different places (**Галкин et al. 2001**)

These interpretations seem accurate.

- **коштыкташ^{II}** – to lead [t] (4)

This verb's parent, **кошташ**, has already been classified as a true aspectual converb. Three examples can be found where its causative derivative is marked as a converb as well:

вүден коштыкташ – to leading lead – to lead (Галкин et al. 1990)

намиен коштыкташ – to bringing make walk – to take to (Галкин et al. 1998)

шынден коштыкташ – to placing make walk – to lead somewhere (Галкин et al. 2004)

The first example is analogous to the pairing **вүден кондышташ**, which was discussed above. The first and second words of the pairing seem at first glance to be synonyms. The pairing presumably fuses the two words' finer aspects.

The second verb's meaning is retained in the other example sentences as well. None of these pairings can be classified as converb constructions.

- **көндараш^{II}** – to persuade [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

темлен көндараш – to suggesting persuade – to talk into (Васильев et al. 2003)

Both verbs' meanings are preserved, and fused. This is not a converb construction.

- **кудалаш^I** – to run (on four legs); to drive [i] (4)

This verb occurs in four marked converb constructions:

кушкыжын кудалаш – to mounting a horse run – to gallop away on horseback

(Галкин et al. 1994)

лектын кудалаш – to going run – to run around (Васильев et al. 2003)

ончылтен кудалаш – to passing drive – to make a detour (Васильев et al. 2003)

эрген кудалаш – to going through run – to pass (Васильев et al. 2003)

In all cases, one of the original meanings of the verb can be clearly discerned.

- кудалташ^{II} – to throw [t] (1)

This verb is defined as a converb by Beke, Chkhaidze, Alhoniemi and SMJa alike. A total of 64 different pairings using it can be found. SMJa claims that it can be paired with a small number of transitive and intransitive verbs and that it denotes rapid actions.

күрем кудалташ – to pulling out throw – to pull out (Галкин et al. 1994)

солөн кудалташ – to mowing throw – to mow (Галкин et al. 2001)

ыштен кудалташ – to doing throw – to do quickly (Галкин et al. 2005)

In many cases the translations of converb constructions are the perfective counterparts to the imperfective verbs used to translate the original verb.

While it is clear that this verb will be classified as a Type 1 converb, it is less clear how one should interpret SMJa's assertion that this modifier is only paired with a limited number of verbs. *Pollyanna* contains converb constructions pairing it with verbs other than those found in SMJa and the dictionaries.

- куржаш^I – to run [i] (4)

Five marked converb constructions have this verb in the second position;

кынел куржаш – to getting up run – to run away (Галкин et al. 1994)

чакнен куржаш – to withdrawing run – to run back (Галкин et al. 2003)

шылын куржаш – to fleeing run – to escape (Галкин et al. 2004)

лектын куржаш – to going run – to run away (Васильев et al. 2003)

ончылтен куржаш – to passing run – to outrun (Васильев et al. 2003)

The second verb does not appear to lose any meaning in any of the examples.

- куржталаш^I – to run around [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

модын куржталаш – to playing run around – to romp (Галкин et al. 1998)

Once again it cannot be said that the second verb loses a significant part of its original meaning.

- кутыраш^{II} – to speak [i] (4)

This verb is mentioned once.

ужын кутыраш – to seeing speak – to speak eye to eye (Галкин et al. 2003)

Verb 1 modifies verb 2 here.

- кучаш^{II} – to catch [t] (4)

While SMJa and Chkhaidze do not mention this verb at all, Beke cites it as a converb and it appears in the dictionaries 11 times.

авырал кучаш – to surrounding catch – to seize (Галкин et al. 1990)

урзылен кучаш – to holding catch – to hold (Галкин et al. 2003)

урген кучаш – to sewing catch – to sew a hem (Галкин et al. 2003)

No examples could be found where the second verb's meaning was lost.

- кучыкташ^{II} – to have caught [t] (4)

This is only mentioned once:

тушкалтен кучыкташ – to putting put into somebody's hand

– to put into someone's hand

(Галкин et al. 2002)

This does not constitute a converb construction.

- кушкаш^I – to grow [i] (4)

Three examples are listed:

атыланен кушкаш – to developing grow – to thrive (Галкин et al. 1990)

музыран кушкаш – to scarring grow – to cicatrize (Васильев et al. 2003)

куржын кушкаш – to healing grow – to grow up healthy (Васильев et al. 2003)

All of these phrases include the original meaning of the word. They cannot be called converb constructions.

- кушташ^{II} – to raise / to dance [t/i] (4)

These are actually two independent words that happen to be homonyms. One example of each can be found.

пукшен-йүктен кушташ – to feeding-giving drink grow – to rear (Галкин et al. 2004)

тавен кушташ – to trampling dance – to do folk dances (Васильев et al. 2003)

As neither example constitutes a convincing converb construction, both verbs are disqualified.

- кўзаш^{II} – to climb, to rise [i] (2)

This verb is used in eight distinct pairings marked as converb constructions in the dictionaries. Chkhaidze mentions it, but does not classify it as a converb. He is said to have changed his mind years later (3.2.7).

кудаш кўзаш – to running rise – to run up (Галкин et al. 1994)

чонештен кўзаш – to flying rise – to fly up (Галкин et al. 2003)

нушкын кўзаш – to crawling rise – to crawl up (Чхаидзе 1960 - 58)

This verb seems to be a nice example of a Type 2 converb. It serves as a directional marker for intransitive verbs; a good analogy to English phrasal verbs using “up” in combination with verbs of motion can be made.

- кўзыкташ^{II} – to raise, to lift [t] (2)

Chkhaidze mentions, and disqualifies, this verb. One additional mention can be found in the dictionaries:

пёрдыктен кўзыкташ – to turning raise – to roll to the top (Чхаидзе 1960 - 58)

шўдырен кўзыкташ – to dragging raise – to drag to the top (Васильев et al. 2003)

This verb is the transitive counterpart to the previous verb, and it is also a Type 2 converb.

- кынелаш^I – to get up [i] (2)

This verb is mentioned three times:

тёрштен кынелаш – to jumping get up – to get up quickly (Галкин et al. 2002)

чонештен кынелаш – to flying get up – to fly up (Галкин et al. 2003)

ылыж(ын) кынелаш – to coming to life get up – to rise from the dead

(Галкин et al. 2005)

In the third example, the verb's original meaning is preserved. In the other two, it is not. It seems to carry a similar function as the verb **кўзаш** did. It is a directional marker for intransitive verbs.

- кынелташ^{II} – to get up [t] (2)

This transitive verb is not mentioned in any source. However, it seems inconsistent that **кўзыкташ** and **кўзаш**, as transitive and intransitive counterparts, are both mentioned as converbs, whereas **кынелташ**, which has the same relationship with the verb **кынелаш** in its original meaning, is not mentioned at all. One would expect **кынелташ** to serve as a counterpart to **кынелаш** as a converb as well – and sentences can in fact be found in *Pollyanna* where this is the case.

(26) (Porter 1913/2004 - 16)

[...] Поллианна-м кид-ше гыч шупшыл кынелт-ыш-ат [...]

Pollyanna-ACC hand-Poss3Sg from pull(-GerAffIns) get.up-Pret1-and

‘[...] pulling [Pollyanna] to her feet [...]’

This verb will thus be included as a type 2 converb.

- кышкаш^{II} – to throw [t] (1)

This verb is contained in 40 pairings. Beke, Alhoniemi, SMJa and Chaidze all see it as a converb. SMJa assigns it two different functions. When paired with transitive verbs, it can mark rapid, purposeful actions. It can also be paired with transitive or intransitive verbs to denote swift, purposeful actions. It can also denote rapid and uncontrolled actions, in conjunction with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

вурсен кышкаш – to scolding throw – to give a scolding (Галкин et al. 1990)

кутырен кышкаш – to speaking throw – to say impetuously (Галкин et al. 1994)

ыштен кышкаш – to doing throw – to do (in a fit, ...) (Галкин et al. 2005)

SMJa's interpretation seems reasonable.

- лаптырташ^{II} – to flatten [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

темлен көндараш – to stepping flatten – to tread down (Васильев et al. 2003)

The second verb's meaning is definitely preserved. This is not a converb construction.

- лекташ^I – to go, to go out [i] (1/2)

With 100 mentions, this verb is one of the less controversial converbs. Moiso defines it as a marker for motions that are beginning or that are carried out in an outward direction. SMJa, which generally only mentions pure aspectual modifiers, does not cite this function, but does denote this verb as a marker for completed actions that can be paired with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

шытен лекташ – to germinating go – to germinate (Галкин et al. 2004)

тунем лекташ – to learning go – to finish learning (Галкин et al. 2002)

төрштен лекташ – to jumping go – to jump out (Галкин et al. 2002)

It is not difficult to illustrate Moiso's interpretation, making this a Type 2 converb, as accurate. SMJa's Type 1 interpretation is more difficult to

discern from the translations of the pairings themselves, but the example sentences given for these denote clearly perfective actions. There is, thus, no reason to dispute SMJa's classification.

- лектедаш^{II} – to come out, to arise [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

пуреден лектедаш – to walking around come out – to visit (Галкин et al. 2000)

If no other pairings come to light, it does not make sense to classify this verb as a converb.

- лияш^I – to be, to become [i] (3)

This verb is mentioned three times:

шарнен лияш – to remembering become – to memorize (Галкин et al. 2004)

шекланен лияш – to watching be – to be on one's guard (Галкин et al. 2004)

шинчен лияш – to knowing become – to know for the future (Галкин et al. 2004)

It is hard to say whether or not the original meaning is lost here, as it is notoriously difficult to pinpoint the meaning of this verb in the first place. It is often defined as the perfective variant of “to be”, but is also frequently translated as “to become”, and is also assigned various other meanings in the dictionaries, ranging from “to be possible” to “to disappear”. Given this, the manner in which it is used here is relatively close to the core meanings, it makes more sense to assign a meaning along the lines of “to begin” to this verb, which requires the affirmative instructive gerund by government.

- лукташ^I – to take away, to remove [t] (1/2)

This verb is mentioned 93 times. Moisio defines it as a directionality marker, denoting motions carried out in an outward direction. He also classifies this verb as a finality marker. SMJa agrees with this interpretation, adding that it can only be paired with transitive verbs.

шонен лукташ – to thinking take away – to invent (Галкин et al. 2004)
ыштен лукташ – to doing take away – to make (Галкин et al. 2005)
пуэн лукташ – to blowing take away – to blow out (Васильев et al. 2003)

Both interpretations seem convincing.

- **малташ^{II}** – to make sleep [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

рүпшен малташ – to rocking make sleep – to rock to sleep (Васильев et al. 2003)

The first verb expresses the method in which the second verb is carried out.

- **мияш^{II}** – to go [i] (1/2)

Whereas this verb is classified as a converb by most of the grammars, only 20 occurrences can be found. Moisio defines it as a directional marker indicating that a motion is carried out with a certain directionality – a good analogy to English phrasal verbs using “up to” can be made here. SMJa also sees it as an infrequently used durative marker, paired with both transitive and intransitive verbs, that hints at a gradual increase in the action’s effects.

нушкын мияш – to crawling go – to crawl up to something (Moisio 1992)
чонештен мияш – to flying go – to fly up to (Галкин et al. 2003)
рүмбалген мияш – to growing dark go – to gradually grow dark (Галкин et al. 2001)

Both interpretations seem equally believable. It remains unclear how many or how few verbs this converb can be paired with under SMJa’s interpretation.

- **модаш^I** – to play [i] (4)

Two occurrences can be found:

шылын модаш – to hiding play – to play hide and seek (Галкин et al. 2004)
күргүлен модаш – to playing deaf play – to play hide and seek (Васильев et al. 2003)

Both examples are not classified accurately.

- муаш^I – to find [t] (4)

This verb is mentioned twice:

кучал муаш – to searching find – to search and find (Галкин et al. 1994)

шонен муаш – to thinking find – to devise (Галкин et al. 2004)

Neither example can be considered a converb construction.

- налаш^I – to take [t] (1)

With 245 mentions this is the fourth most popular converb on the list. SMJa states that it is primarily, but not exclusively, paired with transitive verbs. The verb is denoted as a marker for completed actions.

ойырен налаш – to separating take – to select (Moisio 1992)

ыштен налаш – to doing take – to make (Галкин et al. 2005)

ятлен налаш – to reproaching take – to scold (Галкин et al. 2005)

The interpretation of this verb as a simple perfectivity marker seems sound.

- налыкташ^{II} – to make take [t] (4)

This verb, formed from the previous verb using the causative marker **-кт**, only occurs once:

тынден налыкташ – to searching make take – to instruct someone to search
(Галкин et al. 2002)

As the causative function of the derivational suffix attached to the second verb is clearly retained here, the most likely explanation is that this is a causative derivation of the converb construction **тынден налаш**.

- намияш^{II} – to bring, to carry here [t] (2)

This verb, which owes its existence to the fusion of the converb construction **налын мияш** into a single word (Alhoniemi 1986 - 102), is mentioned as an aspect giver in two examples:

вүден нимияш – to transporting bring – to bring closer (Галкин et al. 1990)

ўжын нимияш – to inviting bring – to invite (Галкин et al. 2003)

This verb seems to transfer its directionality to verbs when paired with them. It is classified as a Type 2 converb.

- **нантаяш^I** – to take away [t] (2)

Like the previous verb, this one was created through the fusion of the two elements of a converb construction – in this case **налын каяш** – into one word. In contrast to the previous verb, for which only two examples could be found, this verb is mentioned as an aspect giver 15 times in the dictionaries.

вүден нимияш – to transporting take away – to take away (Галкин et al. 1990)

шүкен нимияш – to pushing take away – to push away (Галкин et al. 2004)

This verb is mentioned by Chkhaidze, who disqualifies it as a true aspectual converb. However, as this verb primarily transfers its directionality to the second verb in a pairing, it does qualify as a Type 2 converb.

- **оварташ^{II}** – to fill up [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

пуэн оварташ – to blowing fill – to inflate (Васильев et al. 2003)

This cannot be considered a converb construction.

- **ойлаш^{II}** – to say [t] (4)

This verb can be seen as analogous to its synonym, **каласаш**, in this context. In fact, all five mentions of **каласаш** as a converb mention **ойлаш** as an alternative. In spite of 10 explicit mentions as a converb, this verb does not qualify, as it retains its original meaning in all pairings.

- **ойыраш^{II}** – to divide [t] (2)

This verb is mentioned five times:

кушкед ойыраш – to ripping divide – to tear off (Васильев et al. 2003)

пүчкын ойыраш – to cutting divide – to cut up (Васильев et al. 2003)

руал ойыраш – to hitting with an axe divide – to cleave (Васильев et al. 2003)

шелын ойыраш – to splitting divide – to split (Васильев et al. 2003)

шотлен ойыраш – to counting divide – to count off (Чхаидзе 1960)

Chkhaidze gives the last example, but does not classify it as a true aspectual converb. This assessment seems reasonable, but making a final call is difficult here. One could say that verb 1 expresses the manner in which verb 2 is carried out, but it is equally possible to claim that verb 2 mostly signifies that the first verb – which denotes an activity involving cutting or ripping – achieves a complete separation. In this case, the verb in question can be likened to English phrasal verbs with “apart” or “off”. Under this interpretation, the verb qualifies as a Type 2 converb.

- ончалаш^I – to peek, to watch [t] (4)

Four marked converb constructions use this verb:

пурен ончалаш – to coming in peek – to peek in (Галкин et al. 2000)

толын ончалаш – to coming peek – to peek in (Галкин et al. 2002)

түслен ончалаш – to watching watch – to watch (Галкин et al. 2002)

шымлен ончалаш – to examining glance – to scrutinize (Васильев et al. 2003)

The original meaning seems to be preserved in all cases. If anything, the first verbs serve as modifiers here.

- ончаш^{II} – to look [t] (1/3)

This verb is mentioned 80 times. Moisio defines it as a marker for momentary actions. SMJa states that it is used to denote that one is attempting to do something in order to assess the results of this activity.

лудын ончаш – to reading look – to try to read (Пенгитов et al. 1961)

лудын ончаш – to reading look – to skim through (Moisio 1992)

чиен ончаш – to dressing look – to try on (Галкин et al. 2003)

ниялтен ончаш – to touching look – to touch (briefly) (Галкин et al. 1998)

Many examples can be found for both functions. It definitely serves as a marker for momentary actions.

However, the functionality assigned to the verb by SMJa is strong and independent, going beyond an aspectual modification. It makes more sense to give an additional meaning for the verb, “to attempt”, which demands the

affirmative instructive gerund by government. The 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary does just this.

- ончыкташ^{II} – to show [t] (1)

This verb, which is a causative derivation from the last verb, is not covered by the grammars, but it is mentioned six times in the dictionaries:

возен ончыкташ – to writing show – to describe (Галкин et al. 1990)

луктын ончыкташ – to going show – to show (Галкин et al. 1994)

модын ончыкташ – to playing show – to play (Галкин et al. 1998)

муралтен ончыкташ – to singing show – to sing (Галкин et al. 1998)

серен ончыкташ – to writing show – to describe (Галкин et al. 2001)

тавалтен ончыкташ – to dancing folk dances show – to show how to dance folk dances
(Галкин et al. 2002)

Unlike the example found for the causative derivation **налыкташ**, some examples given here do not carry a causative function. Due to the pairings 3 and 4 above, this verb cannot be summarily discarded. The translations of **модын ончыкташ** and **муралтен ончыкташ** both contain the perfective counterparts to the imperfective verbs given in the translations of the original verb. Like its parent, this verb seems to serve as a marker for momentary actions.

- ончышташ^I – to watch [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

савырныл(ын) ончышташ – to turning watch – to turn around (Галкин et al. 2001)

While it is not explicitly evident from the pairing's translation, the example sentence given here makes it clear that this pairing is used when one turns around to look at one's surroundings. As this activity contains the meaning carried by this verb, the pairing does not qualify as a converb construction.

- **опталаш^I** – to pour [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

конден опталаш – to bringing pour – to pour out (Галкин et al. 1992)

While the exact meaning of the first verb in this context is hard to grasp, it is obvious that the second verb's meaning is preserved. Thus it cannot be considered a converb construction.

- **опташ^{II}** – to lay down, to stack [t] (1)

This verb is mentioned 58 times. SMJa and Alhoniemi define it as a converb; Chkhaidze does not mention it at all. SMJa states that it can only be paired with a few transitive verbs and that it denotes completed actions and hints at a speedy and intense execution.

кырен опташ – to hitting stack – to beat up (Галкин et al. 1994)

налын опташ – to buying stack – to purchase goods for stock (Галкин et al. 1998)

ыштен опташ – to doing stack – to churn out (Галкин et al. 2005)

This seems believable.

- **ошкылаш^I** – to step, to pace [i] (4)

This verb is mentioned three times.

йогыланен ошкылаш – to being lazy step – to lazily walk (Васильев et al. 2003)

лектын ошкылаш – to going step – to walk on foot (Васильев et al. 2003)

ужатен ошкылаш – to leading step – to accompany (Галкин et al. 2003)

None of these examples can be classified as converb constructions.

- **пелешташ^{II}** – to utter, to note [t] (4)

This verb is mentioned four times:

игылтын пелешташ – to jeering say – to say with a jeer (Васильев et al. 2003)

мыскылен пелешташ – to mocking say – to say mockingly (Васильев et al. 2003)

ойганен пелешташ – to being sad say – to say with sadness (Васильев et al. 2003)

шөрен пелешташ – to asking say – to object to (Галкин et al. 2004)

The final verb's original meaning is retained in all of these pairings.

- пернаш^{II} – to hit [t] (4)

This verb is mentioned twice:

миен пернаш – to going hit – to bump into (Галкин et al. 1998)

толын пернаш – to coming hit – to bump into (Галкин et al. 2002)

Neither example constitutes a converb construction.

- петыраш^{II} – to close, to shut [t] (1)

This verb is only mentioned once:

олтен петыраш – to heating close – to heat up (Галкин et al. 1998)

This word seems to be used as an aspectual modifier denoting finality in the one pairing it is used in.

(27) (Галкин et al. 1998)

Монча	шокшо,	теве-теве	гына	олт-ен	петыры-ме
sauna	hot	just	only	heat-GerAffIns	close-PartPass

‘The sauna is hot, it was just heated up.’

Judging by the example sentence provided, this seems believable. Like other verbs used to signify finality, this verb – “to close” – denotes a perfective, transformative action. As no other pairings using this verb can be found, this classification is somewhat shaky. A native speaker will be consulted before the dictionary is published.

- пидаш^I – to bind, to tie [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

куктышт пидаш – to tangling tie – to tie up (Васильев et al. 2003)

This does not qualify as a converb construction.

- **пижаш^I** – to stick to, to get stuck [i] (4)

This word is used four times in marked converb constructions:

кылмен пижаш – to freezing catch – to freeze to (Галкин et al. 1994)

миен пижаш – to going catch – to seize (Галкин et al. 1998)

кыртмен пижаш – to tightening catch – to cling to (Васильев et al. 2003)

толын пижаш – to coming catch – to pounce on (Галкин et al. 2002)

The verb's original meaning can be seen in all of the examples.

- **пижыкташ^{II}** – to stick, to attach [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

пужен пижыкташ – to dismantling glue – to re-glue something (Васильев et al. 2003)

The second verb expresses the main action. This is not a converb construction.

- **почаш^I** – to open [t] (4)

A similar situation is found here:

пудыртен почаш – to breaking open – to break open (Васильев et al. 2003)

Once again, this cannot be considered a converb construction.

- **пуаш^{II}** – to give [t] (1/2)

This verb is mentioned 136 times. SMJa describes it as a marker for completed actions and for actions directed at or addressed to someone. It can only be paired with transitive verbs.

мурен пуаш – to singing give – to sing to the end (Moisio 1992)

налын пуаш – to buying give – to buy for (Галкин et al. 1998)

ыштен пуаш – to doing give – to make; to make for (Галкин et al. 2005)

When used to denote that an activity is done for someone, the word does actually retain some of its original meaning. When used as a perfective marker, it does not. It, thus, falls into both the first and second category.

- **пураш^{II}** – to come in [i] (2)

This verb is mentioned 23 times. It is classified as a converb by Alhoniemi and Chkhaidze, but is not mentioned by SMJa. Moisio describes it as a marker for actions carried out in an inward direction.

толын пураш – to coming come in – to come in (**Moisio 1992**)

төрштөн пураш – to jumping come in – to jump into (**Галкин et al. 2002**)

чонештен пураш – to flying come in – to fly in (**Галкин et al. 2003**)

This verb seems to be paired exclusively with intransitive verbs.

- **пуренгаяш^{II}** – to fall [i] (4)

The origin of the modern Mari verbs **нангаяш** and **намияш**, which were created through the fusion of the converb constructions **налын каяш** and **налын мияш** respectively, has been discussed. It seems likely that this verb was created in a similar fashion from the converb construction **пурен каяш**.

This verb is only mentioned once:

шүртнен пуренгаяш – to tripping fall – to trip and fall (**Галкин et al. 2004**)

This is not a converb construction.

- **пурташ^{II}** – to bring in, to put in [t] (2)

Like its intransitive counterpart **пураш**, this verb is included by Chkhaidze and Alhoniemi, but excluded by SMJa. It is mentioned 15 times.

шүкал пурташ – to pushing bring in – to push into (**Moisio 1992**)

тулен пурташ – to pumping bring in – to pump into (**Галкин et al. 2002**)

кырен пурташ – to hitting bring in – to drive in (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

This verb is an equally good counterpart of **пураш** as a Type 2 converb as it is in its original meaning.

- **пушташ^I** – to kill, to slay [t] (4)

Six dictionary entries use this verb as an aspect giver and Beke sees it as a converb as well.

аярген пушташ – to poisoning kill – to kill with poison (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

пиктен пушташ – to strangling kill – to suffocate (**Галкин et al. 2000**)

руал пушташ – to striking kill – to hack to death (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

тошкен пушташ – to trampling kill – to crush to death (**Галкин et al. 2002**)

чумен пушташ – to kicking kill – to kick to death (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

чўнген пушташ – to pecking kill – to peck to death (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

The first verb denotes the manner in which the second verb is carried out in all of these examples.

- **пызнаш^{II}** – to press against [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

миен пызнаш – to going press – to press oneself against something (**Галкин et al. 1998**)

Verb 2 carries the main meaning here.

- **пытараш^{II}** – to finish something [t] (1)

With 203 mentions, this is a rather uncontroversial converb. Moisio defines it as a marker for completed actions. SMJa also sees it as a finality marker, noting that it can only be paired with transitive verbs and that, further, it indicates a certain intenseness.

тўлен пытараш – to paying finish – to pay (the whole bill) (**Moisio 1992**)

пужен пытараш – to demolishing finish – to destroy (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

ыштен пытараш – to doing finish – to make (**Галкин et al. 2005**)

While one could theoretically read the verb's original meaning into these examples, the verb does serve as an aspectual modifier and is thus classified as a Type 1 converb.

- **пыташ^{II}** – to finish, to end [i] (1)

This verb is mentioned 197 times. The descriptions found both in SMJa and in Moisio's dictionary establish it as an intransitive counterpart to **пытараш**, which also serves to designate finality and the intense execution of an activity. Moisio adds that it can be used to denote that everyone is participating in an activity.

өрткен пыташ – to getting scared end – to get a fright (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

ягылген пыташ – to being polished end – to be heavily polished (**Галкин et al. 2005**)

толын пыташ – to coming end – to all come (everybody comes) (**Moisio 1992**)

Like its counterpart, this verb is classified as a Type 1 converb. It remains unclear whether **пытараш** could also be used in the functionality described by Moisio – denoting that everyone participated in an activity.

- **пышташ^{II}** – to place, to put, to lay [t] (1)

With the exception of Moisio, all the materials examined here explicitly denote this word as a converb. It is mentioned 60 times. SMJa describes it as a marker paired with a few transitive verbs that denote “psychophysical” processes. When paired with such verbs, it is a finality marker.

шонен пышташ – to thinking place – to conceive (**Галкин et al. 2004**)

левед пышташ – to covering place – to cover (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

үден пышташ – to sowing place – to sow (**Галкин et al. 2003**)

While this verb's status as a Type 1 converb that marks finality is not up for debate, it is not quite clear how SMJa's usage restriction to psychophysical processes should be understood. While disproportionately large number of verbs in the first position of pairings including this verb do indeed relate to the body and the mind, not all of them explicitly do.

- **савырнаш^{II}** – to turn, to rotate [i] (2)

In spite of the 11 pairings found in the dictionaries, none of the grammars mention this verb.

коштын савырнаш – to going turn – to go around (Галкин et al. 1994)

ончен савырнаш – to looking turn – to look over (Галкин et al. 1998)

чонештен савырнаш – to flying turn – to fly around (Васильев et al. 2003)

When paired with verbs of motion, it seems to mark that a motion is carried out around something. It is also paired with a number of verbs of perception, in which case it seems to denote that an object is intensely scrutinized.

- **сакаш**^{II} – to hang up, to hang [t] (4)

This verb is mentioned three times:

луктын сакаш – to removing hang up – hang out (Галкин et al. 1994)

пиктен сакаш – to asphyxiating hang up – to hang (Галкин et al. 2000)

пунен сакаш – to braiding hang – to braid (Галкин et al. 2000)

The first two constructions can be instantly discarded, but the third one warrants further investigation. Judging by the example sentence given in the dictionary, the translation of the pairing seems incomplete.

(28) (Галкин et al. 2000)

Туды-н ўп-шө [...] кок могыр-ыш пун-ен сагы-ме.

(s)he-GEN hair-Poss3Sg [...] two side-ILL braid-GerAffIns hang-PartP

‘Her hair [...] hung in two braids, one on each side of her head (lit. her hair hung braided into two directions)’

This sentence definitely contains the original meaning of the verb.

- **сенгаш**^{II} – to win, to defeat [t] (2)

While Chkhaidze’s table of converbs includes this verb, explicitly marked converb constructions using it are sparse.

кучен сенгаш – to grabbing win – to hold on to (Галкин et al. 1994)

кычкырен сенгаш – to calling win – to shout down (Васильев et al. 2003)

These examples illustrate how this verb, when paired with a second verb, indicates that one attempts to execute an action and succeeds. It is possible to read a second meaning – “to manage” – into this verb and to classify it as

Type 3, that is, verbs that require the affirmative instructive gerund as their complement by government. However, the meanings of pairings formed with this verb are not sufficiently consistent to justify this.

The 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary's entry on this verb mentions its usage as the second verb in verb pairings and gives several examples, including **кучен сенгаш**. These examples are not marked as converb constructions, leading to some inconsistency with the entry on the verb **кучаш**.

илен сенгаш – to living win – to survive (Галкин et al. 2002)

кутырен сенгаш – to talking win – to outtalk (Галкин et al. 2002)

These pairings are classified as converb constructions, albeit not as true aspectual ones.

- **ситараш^{II}** – to supply [i] (1)

This verb is mentioned by SMJa, Chkhaidze, Alhoniemi and Moisio. Nevertheless, only 13 distinct pairings can be found in the sources.

SMJa states that it can be paired with a small number of transitive and intransitive verbs, and that it marks that an activity is carried out up to a certain point. Moisio's interpretation is similar.

поген ситараш – to collecting supply – to collect a certain amount (Moisio 1992)

шийын ситараш – to threshing supply – to thresh (Васильев et al. 2003)

юмылтен ситараш – to praying supply – to say a short prayer (Галкин et al. 2005)

Pairings using this verb that are not found in any of the grammars or dictionaries can be found in *Pollyanna*, again raising the question how many verbs fall into the limited group SMJa refers to.

- **темаш^I** – to fill up [i] (2)

The dictionaries' failure to mark conjugation classes causes problems here again, as this intransitive Conjugation 1 verb has a transitive Conjugation 2 counterpart that does not differ from it in the infinitive. After some

deliberation, it was decided that 6 to 9 pairings in the dictionaries use this verb.

SMJa's interpretation of this verb makes it sound equivalent to **ситараш**, the last verb discussed. Both can be paired with a number of transitive and intransitive verbs, and denote that an action is carried out up to some kind of limit. The connection to the verb's original meaning seems stronger here, however.

мален темаш – to sleeping fill – to sleep in (Галкин et al. 1998)

толын темаш – to coming fill – to crowd (Галкин et al. 2002)

кочкын темаш – to eating fill – to eat one's fill (Галкин et al. 1994)

An additional meaning can be derived from some of the pairings found – that a large number of people carry out an activity. Both of these meanings retain a fairly strong connection with the original verb and are more than aspectual. Classifying this verb as a Type 2 converb seems like a better call.

- **темаш^{II}** – to fill [t] (2)

6 to 9 pairings seem to use this verb in the final position. Unlike its counterpart, it is not mentioned by SMJa, but it is cited by Alhoniemi and by Chkhaidze, who disqualifies it as a pure aspectual converb.

конден темаш – to bringing fill – to bring in large amounts (Галкин et al. 1992)

зртарен темаш – to surpassing fill – to exceed (Галкин et al. 2005)

Based on these two examples, one could interpret this verb as a marker indicating that an action is carried out in some major way, possibly to excess. More examples are desirable before a final decision can be made. Based on the examples at hand, it seems like a conceivable Type 2 converb.

- **толаш^I** – to come [i] (1/2)

This verb is mentioned 123 times and is considered to be a converb by every material taken into consideration here. Moisio defines it as a durative marker. SMJa does this as well, also stating that it can be paired with both

transitive and intransitive verbs and that it entails a gradual increase in the effects of an action.

туныктен толаш – to teaching come – to teach (little by little) (Галкин et al. 2002)

виян толаш – to becoming stronger come – to gradually grow in strength (Moisio 1992)

чонештен толаш – to flying come – to come flying (Галкин et al. 2003)

As the verb marks a directionality in its basic meaning, it is hard to say whether pairings like the last one, using it as a directionality marker, qualify as converb constructions. They are not radically different from their English counterparts and the verb's meaning is mostly retained.

- **тошкалаш^I** – to step, to make a step [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

толын тошкалаш – to coming step – to approach (Галкин et al. 2002)

The two verb's meanings are nicely fused, but one cannot claim that the second verb's meaning is lost.

- **тошкышташ^I** – to stomp [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

юватыл(ын) тошкышташ – to loafing stomp – to walk around doing nothing
(Галкин et al. 2005)

The second verb's meaning is definitely preserved.

- **төрлаш^{II}** – to flatten [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

локшич төрлаш – to cutting flatten – to rough-hew (Васильев et al. 2003)

The second verb's meaning is retained in this pairing.

- **төршташ^{II}** – to jump [i] (4)

This verb occurs in two instances, both of which are couplings of three verbs:

куржын миен төршташ – to running going jump – to take a run and jump

(Васильев et al. 2003)

куржын толын төршташ – to running coming jump – to take a run and jump

(Васильев et al. 2003)

куржын мияш and **куржын толаш** indubitably qualify as converb constructions, as the identical translation of these two phrases might indicate. However, **төршташ**, found in the final position of both examples, retains its original meaning and thus is not serving as a second aspect giver in either case.

- **тушкалташ^{II}** – to poke [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

конден тушкалташ – to bringing poke – to poke with one’s hand (Галкин et al. 1992)

While first verb’s function is elusive here, the second verb’s function is clearly retained.

- **түкнаш^{II}** – to touch [i] (4)

This verb is mentioned twice:

миен түкнаш – to going touch – to bump into (Галкин et al. 1998)

толын түкнаш – to coming touch – to bump into (Галкин et al. 2002)

Neither example qualifies as a converb construction.

- **түңаш^I** – to harden, to freeze [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

кылмен түңаш – to freezing solidify – to freeze up (Галкин et al. 1994)

The second verb’s meaning is definitely preserved.

- утыктараш^{II} – to drive into hysteria [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

чыгылтен утыктараш – to tickling drive into hysteria – to tickle to exhaustion
(Васильев et al. 2003)

Verb 1 signifies the method used when carrying out verb 2.

- чарнаш^{II} – to stop, to halt [i] (3)

This verb is mentioned three times:

куштен чарнаш – to dancing stop – to stop dancing (Васильев et al. 2003)

лүшкен чарнаш – to humming stop – to be over (Галкин et al. 1994)

пелед чарнаш – to blooming stop – to wither (Васильев et al. 2003)

The second example is presumably a figurative expression and can be ignored. Judging by the other two examples, it seems more likely that this verb uses the gerund by government. As no further constructions of this sort can be found in *Pollyanna*, this classification is somewhat shaky.

- чияш^{II} – to dress [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

алмаштен чияш – to changing dress – to change one's clothes (Галкин et al. 1994)

This phrase is far too comprehensible to be a converb construction.

- чыкаш^{II} – to put in [t] (2)

This verb is mentioned twice:

конден чыкаш – to sticking put in – to tuck in (Галкин et al. 1992)

поген чыкаш – to collecting put in – to collect in (Галкин et al. 2000)

It seems reasonable to read a certain transfer of directionality into these examples.

- чыташ^{II} – to tolerate [t] (2)

This verb is only mentioned once:

шинчен чыташ – to sitting tolerate – to keep one’s seat (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

If this translation can be trusted, it is definitely possible to make a case for this verb to be a Type 2 converb. The verb’s original meaning can be read into the phrase, but it definitely serves as an aspectual modifier of the first verb.

Further examples are desirable before a final call is made. No paired verbs containing this verb can be found in *Pollyanna*. A native speaker must be consulted before the dictionary’s entry on this word can be determined. For now, the word is taken to be a believable converb.

- шалаташ^{II} – to break, to destroy [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

кырен шалаташ – to hitting break – to smash (**Галкин et al. 1994**)

This classification is not correct.

- шинчаш^I – to sit down [i] (1)

This verb and the following one form another pair with identical infinitives, which makes it difficult to distinguish between mentions of the two. In contrast to prior examples, these two verbs do not differ in transitivity – both are intransitive. However, this one denotes a momentary action – the act of taking a seat – whereas the following one denotes the static state of being seated.

112 to 140 pairings using this verb in the final position can be identified. SMJa denotes it as a marker for actions that lead to a change in state. In particular, it marks the completion of activities. It can only be paired with intransitive verbs.

пижын шинчаш – to sticking sit down – to get stuck (**Moisio 1992**)

чеверген шинчаш – to reddening sit down – to blush (**Галкин et al. 2003**)

шочын шинчаш – to appearing sit down – to appear (**Галкин et al. 2004**)

There do not seem to be any problems here.

- **шинчаш^{II}** – to sit [i] (1)

38 to 66 pairings use this alternative as the second verb in a pairing. While it is included in SMJa's list of converbs, no explanations are given regarding its function, which makes additional research necessary.

вучен шинчаш – to waiting sit – to bide one's time (**Галкин et al. 1990**)

ончен шинчаш – to seeing sit – to observe (**Галкин et al. 1998**)

шужен шинчаш – to being hungry sit – to starve (for a long time) (**Галкин et al. 2004**)

It seems to be a straightforward durative marker that has a tendency to be paired with intransitive verbs, but it can also be paired with transitive verbs, such as **ончаш** – “to see”.

- **шинчыкташ^{II}** – to make sit [t] (1)

This verb, which is the causative derivative of both **шинчаш^I** and **шинчаш^{II}**, is only mentioned once:

шужыктен шинчыкташ – to starving make sit – to starve to death

(**Галкин et al. 2004**)

This seems to be a durative action, making it seem more likely that this verb was derived from **шинчаш^{II}**. What exact function the causative suffix has here is unclear: whereas the pairing is causative, this causativity can be derived from the first verb, which is itself a causative derivative of **шужаш** – to starve. This verb is used as a pure aspectual modifier here and is thus classified as a Type 1 converb. But, as was the case with earlier similar verbs, this might be a redundant entry on our final list.

- **шинчылташ^I** – to sit around [i] (1)

This derivation is mentioned twice on its own:

ляпкен шинчылташ – to speaking tactlessly sit around – to prattle

(Галкин et al. 1994)

шонкален шинчылташ – to thinking sit around – to be lost in daydreams

(Васильев et al. 2003)

This verb seems to be a rather strong durative marker. When it can be used is hard to judge based on so few examples. A number of verb pairings using this verb as a modifier can be found in *Pollyanna*.

- **шогалаш^I** – to stand up [i] (1)

This verb is mentioned 75 times. SMJa states that it can be paired with transitive and intransitive verbs alike and that it signifies that an action is carried out once. Moisio sees it as a marker for finality.

кынел шогалаш – to getting up stand up – to stand up (Moisio 1992)

лектын шогалаш – to going stand up – to come forward (Васильев et al. 2003)

шочын шогалаш – to appearing standing up – to appear (Галкин et al. 2004)

It seems quite similar in usage as a converb to **шинчаш^I**, which in its original meaning is this word's antonym.

- **шогалташ^{II}** – to place; to stop [t] (1)

The previous verb's transitive counterpart is mentioned 21 times. According to SMJa, it can only be paired with transitive verbs and assigns a certain finality to them.

кычкен шогалташ – to harnessing place – to harness (Васильев et al. 2003)

чумыртен шогалташ – to gathering place – to gather in one place (Галкин et al. 2003)

ыштен шогалташ – to doing place – to make (Пенгитов et al. 1961 - 207)

This seems to be a rather clear case of a Type 1 converb.

- **шогаш^{II}** – to stand [i] (1)

With 260 mentions, this is the third most popular converb. Both Moisio and SMJa define it as a durative marker. It can be paired with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

кредал шогаш – to fighting stand – to fight (Moisio 1992)

виянын шогаш – to getting stronger stand – to develop (Васильев et al. 2003)

ыштен шогаш – to doing stand – to perform (Галкин et al. 2005)

This verb is also a clear case of a Type 1 converb.

- **шогылташ^I** – to linger, to laze around [i] (1)

This modifier is only mentioned in the 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary, but it is cited six times there.

аптыранен шогылташ – to being shy laze around – to be embarrassed

(Галкин et al. 1990)

варен шогылташ – to mixing up laze around – to mix up (Галкин et al. 1990)

заводитлен шогылташ – to launching laze around – to slowly launch

(Галкин et al. 1990)

копшыланен шогылташ – to placing above others laze around

– to stand conspicuously in front of others (Галкин et al. 1992)

ляпкен шогылташ – to speaking tactlessly laze around – to prattle (Галкин et al. 1994)

юватыл(ын) шогылташ – to slowing down laze around – to procrastinate

(Галкин et al. 2005)

This verb seems to be yet another durative marker.

- **шорташ^I** – to cry [i] (4)

This verb is mentioned twice:

мўгырен шорташ – to squealing cry – to howl (Галкин et al. 1998)

нюслен шорташ – to sobbing cry – to cry sobbing (Васильев et al. 2003)

In both examples, the first verb modifies the second verb.

- шуаш^I – to get to, to arrive [i] (1/2)

This Conjugation 1 verb and the following Conjugation 2 verb are identical in the infinitive. This is the fourth and last case of this phenomenon on this list. Here, however, the pairing between a Conjugation 1 verb and a Conjugation 2 one seems to have been caused by homonymy. There does not appear to be any connection between this verb and its Conjugation 2 counterpart; they just happen to be identical in the infinitive. A total of 76 to 90 pairings using this word in the final position can be identified.

This verb is the only verb for which Moisio's and SMJa's interpretations openly contradict each other. Moisio defines it as a marker for momentary actions, SMJa as a marker for durative actions.

рүмбалген шуаш – to growing dark get to – to get dark (Галкин et al. 2001)

умылен шуаш – to understanding get to – to grasp (Галкин et al. 2003)

лектын шуаш – to going get to – to arrive at (Пенгитов et al. 1961 - 208)

The pairings are translated with the perfective aspect in the Russian dictionaries. Even the example sentences given in SMJa use the perfective aspect in the Russian translations of the Mari example sentences. Moisio's interpretation seems to be the correct one; it is quite likely that this was simply a slip-up on part of the editors of SMJa.

SMJa's assertion that this verb is mainly paired with intransitive verbs seems to be correct.

In addition to the discussed functionality, it is also used as a kind of directionality marker in pairings in which it keeps more of its original meaning, as was the case in the third example above.

- шуаш^{II} – to throw [t] (1)

This verb seems to be used as an aspect giver in 41 to 55 verb pairings. While it is not connected with its homonym in its original meaning, it carries a similar function – it, too, is a marker for momentary actions. SMJa states that it is paired with only a limited number of transitive verbs.

кудаш шуаш – to undressing throw – to cast off one’s clothing (**Moisio 1992**)

перен шуаш – to knocking throw – to knock down (**Галкин et al. 2000**)

ыштен шуаш – to doing throw – to do (**Галкин et al. 2005**)

These examples seem perfectly consistent with SMJa’s interpretation.

- **шукталташ^I** – to come true [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

ышталт шукталташ – to being done come true – to be created (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

This does not qualify as a converb construction.

- **шукташ^{II}** – to lead, to accompany [t] (1)

This verb is used in 64 different pairings. Moisio defines it as a finality marker, SMJa as a marker paired with transitive verbs used to signify activities carried out up to a certain point.

вучен шукташ – to waiting lead – to wait until (**Moisio 1992**)

шарнен шукташ – to remembering lead – to remember everything (**Галкин et al. 2004**)

ыштен шукташ – to doing lead – to complete (**Галкин et al. 2005**)

These examples support SMJa’s interpretation.

- **шунгалташ^I** – to dive, to fall [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

шүртнен пуренгаяш – to tripping fall – to trip and fall (**Галкин et al. 2004**)

This is the fourth false classification discovered in the entry on the word **шүртняш**. It must be presumed that the responsible editor either was not informed of the nomenclature being used or was simply error prone in this case.

- **шуралаш^I** – to poke, to stick [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

конден шуралаш – to bringing poke – to poke with one’s hand (**Галкин et al. 1992**)

It is hard to say exactly what the first verb does here. The second verb carries the principal meaning, however, disqualifying it as a converb.

- **шӱлешташ^I** – to gasp [i] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

ноен шӱлешташ – to getting tired gasp – to be out of breath (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

It does not qualify as a converb.

- **шӱташ^{II}** – to drill, to bore, to perforate [i] (2)

This verb is unique in that it is the only verb mentioned by Moisio as a converb that is not mentioned as such by the 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary. Moisio defines it as a marker for an activity carried out through something. Chkhaidze mentions this verb, but disqualifies it as a true aspectual converb.

йӱлатен шӱташ – to burning perforate – to burn through (**Moisio 1992**)

пудыртыл шӱташ – to breaking perforate – to break through (**Чхаидзе 1960 - 58**)

пурлын шӱташ – to biting perforate – to bite through (**Moisio 1992**)

пурын шӱташ – to gnawing perforate – to gnaw through (**Moisio 1992**)

пургед шӱташ – to picking perforate – to pick a hole (**Чхаидзе 1960 - 58**)

He seems to have made the right call, as more than a mere aspect of the original meaning is retained in all of these examples. Moisio’s interpretation seems sound as well, given the examples. A good analogy to English particle verbs with “through” can be made. The verb is classified here as a Type 2 converb.

- **шӱтлаш^{II}** – to wear out [i] (2)

This verb is mentioned three times:

йыгалт шӱтлаш – to being rubbed wear out – to wear through (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

рӱдан шӱтлаш – to rusting wear out – to rust through (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

шӱйын шӱтлаш – to putrefying wear out – to rot through (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

While this verb is only mentioned in this one dictionary, it seems to be a good intransitive counterpart to the previously discussed **шўташ**.

- **шўшкаш^I** – to cram, to stuff [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

поген шўшкаш – to collecting cram – to store (**Галкин et al. 2000**)

The pairing's meaning is derived from a fusion of the two words' meanings. This is not a converb construction.

- **шындаш^{II}** – to put, to erect [t] (1)

This verb is mentioned 244 times. Moisio describes it as a marker for abruptness and finality. SMJa defines it as a marker for transitive verbs that denotes finality and for actions that are carried out one time.

кочкын шындаш – to eating place – to eat up (**Moisio 1992**)

тошкал шындаш – to stepping place – to make a step (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

ыштен шындаш – to doing place – to do (**Галкин et al. 2005**)

These examples are consistent with SMJa's definition.

- **шындылаш^I** – to put, to erect [t] (4)

This verb is not classified as a converb by any grammar, but gets two citations as one.

луктын шындылаш – to going place – to put forward (**Галкин et al. 1994**)

торкален шындылаш – to moving around locate – to arrange (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

In both examples, the verb's original meaning is evident.

- **ышташ^{II}** – to do [t] (4)

This verb is mentioned three times:

велен ышташ – to pouring do – to make a casting (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

кунештарен ышташ – to mastering do – to do with skill (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

пужен ышташ – to destroying do – to remake (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

None of these examples can be classified as converb constructions.

- **эгерташ^{II}** – to lean on, to rest on [i] (4)

This verb is mentioned twice:

миен эгерташ – to going lean on – to come to rest against (Галкин et al. 1998)

толын эгерташ – to coming lean on – to rest upon (Галкин et al. 2002)

These classifications do not seem accurate.

- **эрташ^{II}** – to lead, to take [t] (1)

For this verb – which Chkhaidze, Alhoniemi and SMJa all see as a converb – 18 pairings are cited. SMJa claims that it can be paired with transitive and intransitive verbs alike, but that it can only be paired with a limited number of verbs. It is a durative marker.

вучен эрташ – to waiting lead – to wait for some time (Галкин et al. 1990)

кутырен эрташ – to speaking lead – to discuss (Галкин et al. 1994)

кычал эрташ – to searching lead – to look for (Васильев et al. 2003)

Once again, the question is raised of how many verbs this aspectual modifier can be paired with.

- **эрташ^{II}** – to go through [i] (2)

While SMJa and Alhoniemi also consider this verb to be a converb, only 10 pairings can be found. SMJa states that it can only be paired with a number of intransitive verbs and that it marks rapid, finalized actions, as well as hints that an activity is being carried out at a certain point. When this is the case, it does not lose its full lexical meaning.

кончен эрташ – to appearing go by – to flash by (Галкин et al. 1992)

куржын эрташ – to running go by – to run past (Галкин et al. 1994)

чонештен эрташ – to flying go by – to fly by (Галкин et al. 2003)

This verb seems to be a clear Type 2 converb.

- эрыкташ^{II} – to clean [t] (4)

This verb is only mentioned once:

шондашын эрыкташ – to brushing clean – to clean with a brush (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

This cannot be considered a converb construction.

- ямдылаш^{II} – to prepare [t] (4)

This verb is mentioned four times:

каткален ямдылаш – to cutting up prepare – to chop (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

налын ямдылаш – to taking prepare – to stock up in advance (**Галкин et al. 1998**)

руэн ямдылаш – to striking prepare – to chop (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

шелышт(ын) ямдылаш – to splitting prepare – to chop (**Васильев et al. 2003**)

All of these pairings denote methods of preparing objects or materials. It would not be accurate to refer to them as converb constructions.

5 Questions Answered, Questions Raised

5.1 *Final Statistics*

This section provides a quick overview of the classifications made in the previous chapter. Words are listed with their original meanings and their functions as converbs. The transitivity of the original verb is given in parentheses after its translation. The transitivity of verbs found connected with a given converb is provided after the definition of its functionality as a converb as well. Note that this does not necessarily mean that only transitive or intransitive verbs can be coupled with said converb, just that no evidence has yet to be produced to suggest otherwise.

Of the 135 verbs suggested as converbs, 60 qualify as potential converbs of some type.

The following 38 verbs can occur as true aspectual converbs and thus have been classified as Type 1:

- возаш^{I} – to lie down (i) – finality (t/i)
- илаш^{II} – to live (i) – durability (t/i)
- каяш^{II} – to go (i) – momentarity, finality (i)
- $\text{кийыкташ}^{\text{II}}$ – to lay down (t) – durability (t)
- кияш^{II} – to lie (i) – durability (t/i)
- кодаш^{I} – to remain, to stay (i) – finality, ostensible results (i)
- кодаш^{II} – to remain, to leave behind (t) – finality, ostensible results (t)
- $\text{колташ}^{\text{II}}$ – to send (t) – momentarity, finality; inchoativity; diminutivity (t/i)
- кошташ^{I} – to go, to walk (i) – durability; carried out in many locations (t/i)
- $\text{кудалташ}^{\text{II}}$ – to throw (t) – rapidity (t/i)
- $\text{кышкаш}^{\text{II}}$ – to throw (t) – rapidity, lack of control (t/i)
- лекташ^{I} – to go, to go out (i) – finality (t/i)
- лукташ^{I} – to take away, to remove (t) – finality (t)

- мияш^{II} – to go (i) – durability, gradual increase in effects (t/i)
- налаш^I – to take (t) – finality (t/i)
- ончаш^{II} – to look (t) – momentarity, attempting (t/i)
- ончыкташ^{II} – to show (t) – momentarity (t)
- опташ^{II} – to lay down, to stack (t) – finality, rapidity, intensity (t)
- петыраш^{II} – to close (t) – finality (t)
- пуаш^{II} – to give (t) – finality (t)
- пытараш^{II} – to finish something (t) – finality, intensity (t)
- пыташ^{II} – to finish, to end (i) – finality, intensity; all participating (i)
- пышташ^{II} – to place, to put, to lay (t) – finality (t)
- ситараш^{II} – to supply (i) – limitation (t/i)
- толаш^I – to come (i) – durability, gradual increase in effects (t/i)
- шинчаш^I – to sit down (i) – transformative, finality (i)
- шинчаш^{II} – to sit (i) – durability (t/i)
- шинчыкташ^{II} – to make sit (t) – durability (t)
- шинчылташ^I – to sit around (i) – durability (i)
- шогалаш^I – to stand up (i) – single action (t/i)
- шогалташ^{II} – to place; to stop (t) – finality (t)
- шогаш^{II} – to stand (i) – durability (t/i)
- шогылташ^I – to linger, to laze around (i) – durability (t/i)
- шуаш^I – to get to, to arrive (i) – momentarity (i)
- шуаш^{II} – to throw (t) – momentarity (t)
- шукташ^{II} – to lead, to accompany (t) – finality, limitation (t)
- шындаш^{II} – to put, to erect (t) – finality, abruptness, single action (t)
- эртараш^{II} – to lead, to take (t) – durability (t/i)

The following 29 verbs have been classified as Type 2 converbs:

- волаш^{II} – to fall, to sink (i) – down (i)
- волташ^{II} – to lower, to drop (t) – down (t)
- вончаш^{II} – to go over, to cross (t) – across, over (i)
- каяш^{II} – to go (i) – away (i)
- кондаш^{II} – to bring (t) – towards the speaker (t/i)

- кўзаш^{II} – to climb, to rise (i) – up (i)
- кўзыкташ^{II} – to raise, to lift (t) – up (t)
- кынелаш^I – to get up (i) – up (i)
- кынелташ^{II} – to get up (t) – up (t)
- лекташ^I – to go, to go out (i) – out, away (t/i)
- лукташ^I – to take away, to remove (t) – out, away (t)
- мияш^{II} – to go (i) – up to (i)
- намияш^{II} – to bring, to carry here (t) – closer (t)
- нангаяш^I – to take away (t) – further away (t)
- ойыраш^{II} – to divide (t) – off, up, apart (t)
- пуаш^{II} – to give (t) – for, to (t)
- пураш^{II} – to come in (i) – into, in (i)
- пурташ^{II} – to bring in, to put in (t) – into, in (t)
- савырнаш^{II} – to turn, to rotate (i) – around; over (t/i)
- сенгаш^{II} – to win, to defeat (t) – successfully (t/i)
- темаш^I – to fill up (i) – sufficiently; in large numbers (t/i)
- темаш^{II} – to fill (t) – in large amounts, too much (t/i)
- толаш^I – to come (i) – towards (i)
- чыкаш^{II} – to put in (t) – in, into (t)
- чыташ^{II} – to tolerate (t) – onwards (i)
- шуаш^I – to get to, to arrive (i) – to (i)
- шўташ^{II} – to drill, to bore, to perforate (t) – through (t)
- шўтлаш^{II} – to wear out (i) – through (i)
- эрташ^{II} – to go through (i) – through (i)

The following verbs have been classified as Type 3 – verbs demanding the affirmative instructive gerund due to government:

- керташ^I – to be able to
- лияш^{II} – to begin
- мошташ^{II} – to be able to
- ончаш^{II} – to attempt
- чарнаш^{II} – to stop

This list is certainly not complete.

5.2 Analogies to Systems in Other Languages

Good analogies between certain English phrasal particles and Type 2 converbs can be made in many cases. Type 2 converbs can also often be likened to Russian or German prefixed verbs.

Drawing analogies between true aspectual converb constructions and specific constructions in other languages is more difficult. Russian-language materials often use the imperfective aspect in the translation of verbs paired with one of the many markers for durative actions and the perfective aspect for those coupled with momentary or final aspect givers. However, much detail is lost when this is done. Section 5.4.5 will illustrate that Mari has 15 derivational suffixes and converbs that could be considered perfective and 23 that could be considered imperfective. If the unmarked basic form of a verb is added, this puts 39 different ways of marking verbal aspects at the disposal of competent speakers of Mari, making Russian's binary system seem rather simplistic.

5.3 Observations on the Sources

Many of the verbs that are mentioned as aspectual converb constructions in the 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary, but do not truly qualify as such, appear in the same entries. For example, the entry on the verb **лукташ** includes converb constructions with **шындылаш**, **ончыкташ**, **каласаш**, **ойлаш**, **нангаяш** and **сакаш**, all of which are rarely if ever mentioned elsewhere and all of which have been disqualified as converbs here. This makes it seem likely that not all of the editors of the dictionary were in complete agreement with the nomenclature and that certain of them used the // symbol to mark phrasal verbs that are not converbs as well.

Vassilyev and Uchayev's dictionary in particular establishes itself as the "boy who called wolf" when it comes to converb constructions. Of the 25 verbs used exclusively in this dictionary in the second position in converb

constructions, none can be seen as Type 1 converbs, and only two as Type 2 converbs.

5.4 *Oddities Encountered*

5.4.1 *Interposed Adverbials*

Judging from most explanations given of Mari converbs, it would seem that the two components of a converb are inseparable, if negated sentences in which the negation verb must always directly precede a sentence's main verb are disregarded. However, the following example sentence for the converb construction **шуралт шинчаш**¹ appears:

(29) (Галкин et al. 2004)

Чыла-н-ат ура-м кычкыр-ен-ыт,
all-GEN-and hooray-ACC yell-Pret2-3Pl

госпиталь шурга-лт веле шинч-ен.
hospital be.noisy-REF(-GerAffIns) only sit-Pret2
'All yelled hooray, the hospital was simply buzzing.'

Here, the adverbial “веле”, literally meaning “only”, was placed between the components of the converb construction. It is hard to say whether this is unusual or whether it can be done at all times with all adverbials. Native speakers will have to be consulted.

5.4.2 *Enclitic Particles*

As one would expect, enclitic particles – such as the particle **-ат**, often translated as “and” – can be attached to the second verb of a pairing.

(30) (Porter 1913/2004 - 243)

Но Поллианна-н кузе орлан-ым-ыж-ым
but Pollyanna-GEN how suffer-PartPass-Poss3Sg-ACC

шон-алт-ен колт-ем-ат [...]
think-MOM- GerAffIns send-1Sg-and [...]
'[...] but when I think of [Pollyanna] doomed to lifelong misery, [...]'

It also seems to be legitimate, however, to attach them to the first verb.

(31) (**Porter 1913/2004 - 227**)

Мисс Полли туды-м йөрш-еш ок пале
miss Polly (s)he-ACC completely not3Sg know

да өр-ын-ат колт-ыш.
and wonder- GerAffIns-and send-Pret1
'Miss Polly did not know her at all. She wondered [...]'

The exact semantic differences between these two cases are elusive. Further research is needed on this topic.

5.4.3 The Gerund's Short and Long Forms

Section 3.1.1 mentioned that certain Conjugation 1 verbs have short forms of the affirmative instructive gerund. Alhoniemi does not go into detail when discussing for which verbs this is possible, only stating that it is the case for some verbs whose stems have at least two syllables. No satisfying interpretation can be derived from existing dictionaries either.

For example, the 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary only mentions the long form of the verb **вашкалалташ** – to get dirty – even though its stem has three syllables. One converb construction is listed in this word's entry – **вашкалалтын пыташ**.

For most similarly long verbs, both the short and long forms are given for gerunds used in converb constructions. For example, the verb **ярымалташ** – to be divided – has the converb constructions **ярымалт(ын) возаш** and **ярымалт(ын) лекташ** listed under it, indicating that both forms are possible in both situations. For some verbs, like **тунемаш** – to study – only the short forms are given – **тунем илаш**, **тунем лекташ**, etc. This indicates that the long forms are not advised in these cases.

Some entries, however, list inconsistent forms. For example, the entry for the word **весемаш** – to be replaced – includes two converb constructions – **весем каяш** and **весем(ын) толаш**. If this is taken at face value, it must

be assumed that using the long form is legitimate in one converb construction, but not in the other. While this is conceivable, it seems unlikely, especially as there are no self-evident phonological reasons here. A more likely explanation would be that the editors of the dictionary only included forms found in their corpus. If this was the case, they presumably only included both the short and long forms if examples of each were found. Another possibility would be that the editors simply failed to check the consistency of entries like these.

Once again, native speakers will have to be consulted about this.

5.4.4 Meadow Mari and Hill Mari

The 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary examined here generally handles Meadow Mari and Hill Mari entries in unison. The entry for the verb **түкаш** – “to touch” – includes a note saying that this word is **тӱкӱаш** in Hill Mari. Example sentences from both language variants are given.

The entry contains three converb constructions using the Meadow Mari word – **түкен кодаш**, **түкен колташ** and **түкен шуаш**. It then lists three converb constructions using the Hill Mari variant of this word – **тӱкен кандаш**, **тӱкен лыкташ**, **тӱкен пуаш**.

Does this reflect an actual difference in the usage of certain verbs as converbs in the two language variants or is it again the result of the corpus-based approach used in the preparation of the dictionary? It could well be that **түкен кондаш**, **түкен лукташ** and **түкен пуаш** are legitimate constructions that were simply left out, as no example sentences containing these were found in literature written in the Meadow Mari variant. Likewise, it seems very plausible that **тӱкен кодаш**, **тӱкен колташ** and **тӱкен шоаш** could be used in Hill Mari. Before native speakers of both variants are consulted, this will remain speculative.

5.4.5 Redundancies

If all the morphological and syntactical mechanisms available in the Mari language are taken into consideration, it might seem that there are excessive redundancies.

The following markers for durative, continuative or imperfective actions are known to exist in Mari:

- -ал^I
- -ж^I
- -нч^{I/II}
- илаш^{II} – to live (t/i)
- кийыкташ^{II} – to lay down (t)
- кияш^{II} – to lie (t/i)
- мияш^{II} – to go (t/i)
- петыраш^{II} – to close – finality (t)
- толаш^I – to come (t/i)
- шинчаш^{II} – to sit (t/i)
- шинчыкташ^{II} – to make sit (t)
- шинчылташ^I – to sit around (i)
- шогаш^{II} – to stand (t/i)
- шогылташ^I – to linger, to laze around (t/i)
- эртараш^{II} – to lead, to take (t/i)

The following markers denote final, momentary and perfective actions:

- л^{I/II}
- -алт^{II}
- -шт^{I/II}/-ешт^{I/II}/-эшт^{I/II}
- возаш^I – to lie down (t/i)
- каяш^{II} – to go (i)
- кодаш^I – to remain, to stay (i)
- колташ^{II} – to send (t/i)

- лекташ^I – to go, to go out (t/i)
- налаш^I – to take (t/i)
- ончаш^{II} – to look (t/i)
- ончыкташ^{II} – to show (t)
- опташ^{II} – to lay down, to stack (t)
- пуаш^{II} – to give (t)
- пытараш^{II} – to finish something (t)
- пыташ^{II} – to finish, to end (i)
- пышташ^{II} – to place, to put, to lay (t)
- шинчаш^I – to sit down (i)
- шогалаш^I – to stand up (t/i)
- шогалташ^{II} – to place; to stop (t)
- шукташ^{II} – to lead, to accompany (t)
- шындаш^{II} – to put, to erect (t)
- шуаш^I – to get to, to arrive (i)
- шуаш^{II} – to throw (t)

Of course, these mechanisms are not all fully equivalent, as the explanations provided for the individual converbs illustrated. Nevertheless, the question is raised of how analogous certain converb constructions can be to certain derivational suffixes.

A number of entries on converb constructions in the 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary have cross-references to verbal derivations created from the stem of the construction's first verb. For example, the entry for the verb **пoмьжалташ** – to wake up – includes a converb construction **пoмьжалтен колташ**. In Russian, the converb construction is translated with the perfective version of the same verb that is used, in its imperfective form, to translate the original entry.

The entry on this converb construction in turn includes a cross-reference to the verb **пoмьжалтараш**, formed from the verb **пoмьжалташ** with the verbal derivational suffix -tap (see 2.3.2.1).

While the usage of a causative suffix seems a bit odd in this context, the question arises of whether converbs and derivational suffixes with similar meanings can be considered to be equivalent. Take, for example, the momentary derivational suffix $-\text{л}^{\text{I/II}}$ and the converb **шындаш**, used to denote momentary actions. In what manner are these two mechanisms similar and in what ways do they differ? To what degree are **кычкыралаш** and **кычкырал шындаш** synonymous?

5.4.6 Converb Chains

In quite a few cases, the example sentences for converb constructions use these in longer chains of verbs. Take, for example, the following example sentence for the converb construction **кучен лукташ** – “to take out” – from the 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary.

(32) (Галкин et al. 1994)

Шке	куч-ен	лукт-ын	пу-эт
self	catch-GerAffIns	take.away-GerAffIns	give-2Sg

але	мый-ын	поняное-м	лукт-еш?
or	I-GEN	witness-Poss1Sg	take.away-3Sg

‘Will you take it out yourself or will my witness do it?’

Both **кучен лукташ** and **луктын пуаш** are converb constructions known to the dictionary. In this sentence, they are linked, resulting in a situation where a verb is coupled with not one, but two aspect-giver verbs. The frequency of this phenomenon could be analyzed using the Mari converb detector.

5.4.7 Verb 1 as an Aspectual Modifier

Verb pairings in which Verb 1 modifies Verb 2 are well established (see 3.1.2.4), but the examples found in the grammars indicate that such qualifications are not purely aspectual – the first verb’s original lexical meaning is preserved. Judging by some of the examples found in the

dictionaries, however, it might be concluded that this is not necessarily always the case.

(33) (**Porter 1913/2004 - 166**)

А вара ик кеч-ын тый
and then one day-GEN you

мый-ын илы-ш-ышке-м [...] тол-ын кер-ылт-ыч.
I-GEN live-NOM-ILL-Poss1Sg [...] come-GerAffIns penetrate-INTR-Pret1.2Sg
'Then, one day [...], you danced into my life [...]'

Verbs of movement are again popular in such constructions.

миен тўкнаш – to going touch – to bump into (**Галкин et al. 1998**)

толын тўкнаш – to coming touch – to bump into (**Галкин et al. 2002**)

миен пызнаш – to going press – to press oneself against something (**Галкин et al. 1998**)

толын энгерташ – to coming lean on – to rest upon (**Галкин et al. 2002**)

Our database contains 22 examples in which *толаш* served as Verb 1. While many of these pairings were not considered to be classical converb constructions in which Verb 2 aspectually modifies Verb 1, it did not always seem as though both verbs' meanings were preserved entirely.

5.5 Converbs in the Mari-English Dictionary

The practice used by the two modern Mari-Russian dictionaries of translating converb constructions individually, mostly using the Russian verb aspects to denote if the pairing is more perfective or imperfective, does not seem adequate. Due to the lack of verbal aspects in English, this approach would be even more problematic in a Mari-English dictionary. It makes more sense to elaborate on the usage of certain verbs in the final position of converb constructions and to include links to these in the entries on specific converb constructions.

Specific verbal pairings will be included in the dictionary as well, as is the case in the 10-volume Mari-Russian dictionary. They will presumably be listed as subentries of the first verb, but this question is of less importance in a digital dictionary. The converb construction will be found when entered

into the search field, regardless of where it is, and it will not be difficult to ensure that a link to the pairing's aspect giver's instruction manual is found beside every converb construction in the database.

The Mari Reading Aid (**Bradley 2009**) will be adapted to analyze converb constructions. Users will be able to select verb pairs in a Mari text. The Reading Aid will pull up a translation of the paired verb, should the dictionary contain one. If no translation is available, but the second verb in the pairing is known to occur as a converb, the usage notes on it will be called up.

The screenshot displays a web-based interface for the Mari Reading Aid. It is divided into two main sections: 'Input' on the left and 'Dictionary' on the right. In the 'Input' section, there is a text area containing the Mari sentence 'Қочкын пытарымешке тудо ик мутымат ыш каласе.' The phrase 'Қочкын пытарымешке' is highlighted in blue. Below the text area is a button labeled 'transcribe'. The 'Dictionary' section shows the result for the highlighted phrase: 'ҚО•ЧКЫН ПЫТАРА•Ш (-е•м)' followed by 'verb (conjugation 2)'. Below this, there is a bullet point '• to gobble, to wolf down' and a blue link '+ gerund for future actions'. At the bottom of the dictionary section is a button labeled 'add to vocabulary list'.

Fig. 5: Converbs in the Mari reading aid

5.6 An Open or Closed Set?

Quite a few verbs denoted as converbs in different sources have been examined. Many of these have been disqualified, resulting in a smaller set of converbs than was expected at an earlier stage of the preparation of this

thesis. This does not, however, rule out the possibility that there may be other verbs not considered here that can legitimately be used as converbs.

Section 3.2.6 discusses the types of verbs that frequently occur as converbs – verbs of motion, verbs denoting positions in space, verbs denoting completion and achievement, verbs denoting actions done with one’s hands. There are, in fact, some frequently used verbs in these categories that have not been discussed. In a more in-depth analysis of translated materials, one could attempt to discover situations in which such verbs are used even though no obvious reason for this is apparent in the original text.

5.7 Are Converbs “Productive”?

If *Pollyanna* is any indication, the 3700+ different pairings of verbs included in our materials are but a few examples of legitimate ones. Many pairings such as **йöратен илаш** and **возен колташ** can be found in the book, but are not mentioned in any of the source materials discussed here. Can one consider converbs to be productive, i.e. can they be used in conjunction with any arbitrary verb? To truly test this hypothesis, native speakers would have to be confronted with converb constructions using, for example, verbs recently loaned from Russian, such as **гальванизироватлаш** – to galvanize. Would native speakers of Mari consider **гальванизироватлен колташ** to be conceivable or would they consider it to be silly?

The answer will presumably not be the same for all converbs. For example, converbs denoting the direction toward which an action is carried out will presumably not make much sense when connected to verbs that are not target-oriented. One would not expect the verb **илаш** – to live – to make much sense when paired with the converb **пурташ**, used to denote actions that are carried out in an inward direction.

5.8 Future Prospects

Section 4.1 introduced the converb detector, which is capable of searching through large amounts of texts to identify all paired verbs. The same section

also introduced Jarmo Jantunen's research on the rift between translated Finnish and "natural" Finnish. The converb detector could be used in a similar study in Mari – namely, a contrasting study in which the usage of certain converbs in certain texts is compared.

While the idea of analyzing English texts that have been translated into Mari will have to be abandoned due to the utter absence of these, there have been numerous translations into Mari from Finnish and Estonian in recent years. These translations are not presently at the disposal of the author of this thesis, but the website (<http://www.ut.ee/Ural/ariste/rmtk.html>) of the library of the Ariste Centre in Tartu confirms the existence of several materials that could be used. The following books have been translated into Meadow Mari over the course of the last decade:

Reijo Rinnekangas	Kuu karkaa	(2000)
Frans Eemil Sillanpää	Nuorena nukkunut	(2003)
Maiju Lassila	Tulitikkuja lainaamassa	(2006)
Väinö Linna	Tuntematon sotilas	(2006)
Kari Hotakainen	Juoksuhaudantie	(2007)
Eno Raud	Naksitrallid	(2008)

There have also been a number of translations into Hill Mari:

Mika Waltari	Sinuhe egyptiläinen	(2003)
Aleksis Kivi	Seitsemän veljestä	(2005)
Viivi Luik	Seitsmes rahukevad	(2008)

Materials translated into Mari from Russian no doubt exist as well, but are harder to research online. Book stores and libraries in Yoshkar-Ola could be explored for this purpose.

A comparative study between different texts written in Mari originally – e.g. an analysis of converbs as they were used in Mari classics, such as the novel "Elnet" by Sergey Chavayn, and a comparative analysis of converbs as they are used in modern history books – would be of interest as well.

A Original Quotations

“ê-n-gerundin runsas käyttö selittyy siitä, että tšeremissi on omaksunut turkkilaiskielille luonteenomaisen konverbien käytön ja käyttää tähän ên-tyyppiä. ên-tyypillä on toiseen verbiin, "pääverbiin", nähden subordinatio- tai koordinaatiosuhde kuten siis esim. tšuvassinkin konverbeillä (esim. Krueger, Chuv. Manual 162-).” (Bartens 1979 - 143)

“Суффикс -ын в некоторых случаях выпадает, вследствие чего появляется усеченная форма деепричастия, совпадающая с основой повелительного наклонения. Выпадение суффикса происходит в позиции третьего слога у глаголов с основой на -ан, -ал, -ыл, -ышт, -эшт (орф. -ешт), -ыж, -эм (орф. -ем), -эд (орф. -ед), например: нумал толаш вм. нумалын толаш «принести», шупшыл колташ вм. шупшылын колташ «дернуть», йодышт налаш вм. йодыштын налаш «расспросить», ылыж каяш вм. ылыжып каяш «разгореться», ошем шинчаш вм. ошемын шинчаш «побледнеть» и т. д.” (Пенгитов et al. 1961 - 252)

“Se esiintyy muodostamassa ns. aspektuaalista konverbirakennetta. Siinä syntaktisena pääverbinä on tekemiselle aspektuaalisen sävyn antava verbi; gerundimuoto ilmoittaa rakenteen semanttisen merkityksen. Aspektuaalisesti käytetään varsin useita verbejä. Aspektuaalisessa konverbirakenteessa ne menettävät joko kokonaan tai ainakin osaksi leksikaalisen merkityksensä. Eräissä tutkimuksissa on mainittu jopa n. 40 tällaista verbiä [...]” (Alhoniemi 1985 - 143)

“A cseremisz szóképzésnek egy sajátos formáját képviselik az ún. páros igék. A páros igék első komponense mindig határozói igenévi alakban áll, a második komponens kapja meg az idő és módjeleket, valamint a személyragokat. Az esetek túlnyomó többségében a második komponens részben vagy teljesen elveszti önállóságát, s olyképpen módosítja az ige aspektusát, [...]” (Bereczki 1973)

“Деепричастия на -н участвуют в образовании составных глаголов с видовым значением и значением способа действия: [...]” (Якимова et al. 1990/1991)

“Полшышо глагол пелен кучылтапмыж годым -ын, -ен суффиксан деепричастий чўчкыдынак тўнг действийым каласен пуа [...]” (Учаев 1993)

“Составные глаголы с различными видовыми значениями даются в конце словарной статьи с абзаца после раскрытия всех значений основного глагола и разделяются двумя вертикальными чертами // [...]” (Галкин et al. 1990 - 13)

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C Zusammenfassung

Konverbkonstruktionen sind in der marischen Sprache allgegenwärtig. Solche paarigen Verben kann man als Arealphänomen des Volgabbeckens deuten. Sie lassen sich sowohl in Turksprachen (Tatarisch, Tschuwaschisch) als auch in finno-ugrischen Sprachen (Mari, Udmurtisch, marginal auch Mordwinisch) der Region finden.

In marischen Konverbkonstruktionen wird aus zwei Verben eine Union gebildet, in denen das erste Verb in eine gerundive Form gestellt wird, während das zweite frei konjugiert werden kann. Beispiele solche Paarungen könnte man wörtlich etwa als "essend stellen", "liebend leben" oder "weinend schicken" übersetzen. Wichtig ist hierbei aber, dass das Gerundium den semantischen Gehalt der Paarung hat, während das zweite Verb, auch in der Funktion eines grammatikalischen Hauptverbs, der Paarung nur eine aspektuelle Färbung gibt. Die Ursprüngliche Bedeutung der zweiten Verben geht entweder teilweise oder komplett verloren. Mit "essend stellen" wird etwa das Verb "essen" auf perfektive Art und Weise durchgeführt, was sich vom perfektiven Charakter des Verbs "stellen" ableiten lässt. Sinnvollere Übersetzungen der drei hier gegebenen Paarungen wären etwa "aufessen", "lange lieben" und "zu weinen beginnen".

Diese Arbeit stellt einen Versuch dar, diesen komplexen Mechanismus der marischen Sprache zu erfassen. Einerseits wird die Handhabung der Konverben in diversen Materialien verglichen (Wörterbücher, Grammatiken, Lehrbücher, wissenschaftliche Analysen), andererseits wird in eigener Forschung eine umfangreichere Beschreibung der Möglichkeiten und Limitationen des Systems erstellt.

Vor allem wird dabei darauf eingegangen, welche Impulse in Quelltexte marische Muttersprachler dazu verleiten, in Übersetzungen dieses oder jenes Verb als Aspektgeber zu verwenden.

D Kokkuvõte

Konverbid ehk paaritud verbid on mari keeles äärmiselt levinud nähtus. Kuna suurtes soome-ugri keeltes vastavaid fenomene pole, on konverbikonstruktsioonid raskesti arusaadavad ka inimestele, kes räägivad emakeelena ungari, soome või eesti keelt. Sarnaselt ingliskeelsete fraasiliste tegusõnadega on konverbid selline keeleaspekt, mis teeb keeleõppijate elu keeruliseks. Kahjuks ei leidu nende kohta ühtegi kasulikku didaktilist selgitust. Ka muidu üksikasjalikes grammatikaraamatutes (**Beke 1911, Alhoniemi 1985, Bereczki 1990**) on konverbikonstruktsioonidele pühendatud ainult mõni lause. Sellest piisab küll põhimõtte selgitamiseks, kuid ei jätku nendele, kes soovivad õppida nende õiget kasutamist.

Sügavutiminevad analüüsid konverbide kohta on olemas (**Чхаидзе 1960, Чхаидзе 1967, Pischlöger 1999**), kuid need on peamiselt tüpoloogilised tööd, mis võrdlevad mari keele konstruktsioone naaberkeelte konstruktsioonidega ja mis proovivad määrata mari keele kohta globaalses kontekstis.

Selle väitekirja eesmärk oli luua funktsionaalsem kokkuvõte sellest, millal ja kuidas konverbe mari keeles kasutatakse, millised tegusõnad on konverbikonstruktsioonides kasutatavad, mida nad selliselt kasutamisel tähendavad ja kuidas nad üksteisest erinevad. Eriti tähtis oli siin tõlgete analüüs, mis aitas uurida, millised impulsid sunnivad marisid teatud kindlaid konverbe kasutama. Väitekirja sisaldab ka võrdlust konverbikonstruktsioonide käsitlemise kohta erinevates materjalides (õpikutes, sõnaraamatutes, teaduslikes analüüsides) – analüüsi, mis illustreerib, milles erinevad materjalid üksteisega kattuvad nõus, kus nende vahel on erinevused ja milles materjalid pole järjekindlad.

Üldisem eesmärk, mis ei piirdu üksnes väitekirjas käsitletuga, oli luua konverbide kirjeldamiseks just selline järjekindel süsteem, mida praegu üheski materjal ei leidu. Niisugune süsteem on vajalik mari-inglise sõnaraamatu loomiseks, millega Viini ülikool juba tegeleb. Selles sõnaraamatus soovime konverbidest anda rahuldava ülevaate.

Väitekirja esimeses osas antakse ülevaade mehhanismidest, mida Euroopa keeltes tegusõnadele aspektide andmiseks lisaks adverbidele kasutatakse. Käsitletakse näiteks ajavorme, mis annavad inglise keele rääkijatele võimaluse otsustada, kas tegevus oli kestev („I was going“) või mitte („I went“). Samuti käsitletakse vene keele aspekte, mis annavad rääkijatele sarnase võimaluse („братъ“ vrd. „взатъ“). Paljudes keeltes kasutatakse tegusõnade muutmiseks ka derivatsiooni, eelkõige järelliiteid (inglise „to crack“ > „to crack**le**“, saksa „lachen“ > „lächel**n**“, soome „sataa“ > „sad**ella**“) või eesliiteid (saksa „gehen“ > „**um**gehen“, „**ein**gehen“, „**vor**gehen“ jne.; vene „ходить“ > „**в**ходить“, „**вы**ходить“, „**до**ходить“ jne.). Illustreeritakse ka seda, kuidas saab läänemeresoome keeltes korduvaid ja lõpetatud tegevusi eristada omastava ja osastava käände kasutamise abil („Ma tegin uk**se** lahti.“ vrd. „Ma proovisin **ust** lahti teha.“). Inglise keele juurde tagasi tulles käsitletakse väitekirjas inglise keele fraasilisi tegusõnu, milles luuakse tegusõnast ja kohamäärusest ühend, mille tähendus erineb tegusõna omast kas üksnes veidi või radikaalselt („to look“ > „to look **at**“, „to look **after**“, „to look **down on**“ jne.). Lõpetuseks käsitletakse mari keelt ja eelkõige konverbikonstruktsioone, mis lisaks keele rikkale morfoloogiale annavad rääkijatele veel palju võimalusi tegusõna tähendust muuta.

Konverbikonstruktsioone leidub paljudes keeltes üle kogu maailma. Selliseid konstruktsioone, mida kasutatakse mari keeles, võib aga iseloomustada Volga ala piirkondliku fenomenina, mida võib leida nii soome-ugri keeltes kui ka turgi keeltes. Tatari, tšuvaši ja udmurdi keeles on sarnased konstruktsioonid väga levinud; ka mordva keeles on kasutusel teatud fraasid, mida võib käsitleda konverbidena.

Mari, tšuvaši ja udmurdi konverbikonstruktsioonides on kaks tegusõna: gerundium ja pöördeline tegusõna. Siin on oluline, et teise sõna tegelik tähendus kaob kas täiesti või osaliselt. Esimene sõna kannab sõnapaari semantilist sisu, teine sõna toimib üksnes modifikaatorina. Seetõttu erineb konverbikonstruktsiooni sõnasõnaline tõlge konstruktsiooni tegelikust tähendusest radikaalselt.

Keel	Konstruksioon	Tähendus	Sõna-sõnalt
Udmurdi:	кораса быдтыны	maha lõikama	lõigates lõpetama
Mari:	кочкын шындаш	ära sööma	süües panema
Tatari:	яза бар-	edasi kirjutama	kirjutades minema
Tšuvaši:	типсе каяс	ära kuivama	kuivades lahkuma

(Csúcs 1990 - 61, Moio 1992, Poppe 1968 - 76, Benzing 1943 - 84)

Nii mari keeles kui ka turgi keeltes tuleb vahet teha erinevatel konverbikonstruktsioonidel, mis mari keeles erinevad ainult semantiliselt. Lisaks tuleb tähele panna, et ka muud konstruktsioonid, millel semantiliselt pole konverbikonstruktsiooniga midagi ühist, kasutavad süntaktiliselt samasugust struktuuri. Näiteks mari sõna керташ („oskama“) nõuab reksioonina gerundiumi. Fraas „мурын керташ“ tähendab „laulda oskama“ ja oleks sõna-sõnalt „lauldes oskama“. Pealtnäha on see konverbikonstruktsiooni struktuur, kuid tähendus on täiesti teine.

Konverbide esimene tüüp on aspektuaalne konverbikonstruktsioon. Selles kaob teise verbi algtähendus täielikult ja teine sõna annab esimesele ainult aspekti.

(Moio 1992)

шорт-ын **колт-аш**
 nutma-GerAffIns saatma-INF
 ‘nutma hakkama’ (sõna-sõnalt ‘nuttes saatma’)

Selle näite teine sõna – колташ („saatma“) – tähistab kiiret, perfektiivset tegevust. Selles näites annab teine sõna esimesele sõnale perfektiivsuse. Mitte midagi ei saadeta.

Teine tüüp on kopulatiivne konverbikonstruktsioon. Teise sõna tähendus läheb osaliselt kaotsi ja verb muudab esimese tegevuse täideviimise viisi.

(Moio 1992)

шўдыр-ен **пурт-аш**
 tõmbama-GerAffIns sisse.tooma-INF
 ‘sisse tõmbama’ (sõna-sõnalt ‘tõmmates sisse tooma’)

Siin tähistab teine sõna vaid tegevuse suunalisust. Eesti või inglise keelde tõlkides peab siin teise sõna asemel kasutama adverbi. See on pöördeline tegusõna, milles on määratud isik, kõneviis ja ajavorm ning millele saab anda tuletuslikke järelliiteid ja enkliitikone.

Eriti välismaalastel pole alati kerge otsustada, missuguse konstruktsiooniga on tegu ja kas saab proovida teise sõna tähendust fraasist üles leida. Erinevates materjalides on näiteks lahkarvamus selle osas, kas sõна илаш – „elama“ – on aspektuaalne konverb või mitte. Mõni (**Moisio 1992, Alhoniemi 1985**) väidab, et see on täielik aspektuaalne modifikaator, mis tähistab kauakestvat tegevust, teised (**Чхайдзе 1960, Пенгитов et al. 1961**) aga ütlevad, et „elama“-tähendus on alati mõnevõrra säilinud paarides, kus илаш on teisel positsioonil. Turgi keeltes oleks see lihtne küsimus, sest kopulatiivsed ja aspektuaalsed konverbid kasutavad kahte erinevat gerundiumit ja seetõttu saab morfoloogia alusel välja selgitada, kas konstruktsioon on aspektuaalne või kopulatiivne. Mari keeles kerkib aga vajadus uurida, mida mari võiks soovida öelda, kui ta seda sõna teatud kontekstis kasutab.

Väitekirjas on selleks kasutatud tekste, mis on tõlgitud mõnest muust keelest mari keelde – kas vene, soome, eesti või inglise keelest. Selle metoodikaga õnnestus illustreerida, et ühel rühmal on ilmselt õigus – leiti lauseid, milles marikeelses tekstis kasutatakse sõна илаш konverbikonstruktsiooni teisel positsioonil kauakestva tegevuse tähistamiseks, ilma et algtekstis olnuks midagi sellist, mida saaks tõlgendada tähenduses „elama“.

(25) (**Porter 1913/2004 - 16**)

[...] тудо [...] шуко ий служ-ен да йöрат-ен ил-ен.
tema palju aasta teenima-GerAffIns ja armastama-GerAffIns elama-Pret2
‘[...] he [...] has served and loved for long years.’ (inglisekeelne algtekst)

Pärast metoodika väljatöötamist oli järgmine eesmärk koguda konverbide inventar. Juba selle inventari suurus on aga küsimus, millele kerget vastust pole. Alho Alhoniemi näiteks ütleb väga ettevaatlikult, et mõnes uuringus leiti umbes 40 sõna, mida saaks kasutada konverbina (**Alhoniemi 1985 -**

143). Tal on õigus: ühes uuringus on neid 32 (**Пенгитов et al. 1961**), teises 36 (**Чхайдзе 1960**), kolmandas 21 (**Beke 1911**). Küll aga torkab silma, et uuringutes leitud sõnad pole alati samad ja sõnaraamatutes kasutatakse konverbikonstruktsioonidena tähistatud fraasides veel muidki sõnu, mida pole üheski uuringus leitud. Kokku leiti olemasolevates materjalides 134 (!) sellises funktsioonis kasutatud sõna. Kui seda saab uskuda, siis on Alhoniemi pakutud arv tegelikkusest kolm korda väiksem.

Ühe suure ülesandena tuli välja selgitada, mis on tõele lähedasem – kas 40 või 134. Selleks tuli iga sõna kohta uurida, kas see on seal, kus seda on konverbiks nimetatud, õigesti klassifitseeritud. Tuli välja, et eriti sõnaraamatud on selles olnud väga ebajärjekindlad. Näiteks on konverbina tähistatud järgmine fraas:

(Васильев et al. 2003)

лү́нгалт-ын	кеч-аш
kiikuma-GerAffIns	rippuma-inf
'kiikudes rippuma'	

Kuna selle fraasi tähendus ei erine sõnasõnalisest tõlkest, ei saa siin rääkida konverbikonstruktsioonist. Sama kehtib paljude fraaside korral, mis on tähistatud konverbikonstruktsioonidena.

Siiski selgus, et Alhoniemi pakutud arv on tõepoolest liiga väike. Kokku saaks konverbideks pidada 60 loendis leiduvat tegusõna. Selle 60 sõna osas uuriti nii funktsiooni kui ka kasutust. Samuti oli võimalik näidata analoogiaid. Kopulatiivsete konverbide süsteemi saab võrrelda fraasiverbidega inglise keeles või eesliitega verbidega saksa ja vene keeles.

Aspektuaalseid konverbe saab kindlasti võrrelda vene aspektidega. Enamasti märgivad mari sõnad, mis tähistavad kauakestvaid tegevusi (elama, lebama, tulema, istuma, seisma, laisklema), kauakestvaid tegevusi ka konverbina, ja vastupidi (maha heitma, saatma, lahkuma, võtma, vaatama, näitama, andma, lõpetama, panema, maha istuma, üles tõusma, saabuma, viskama). Siiski pole mari ja vene süsteemid väga hästi võrreldavad, sest vene keeles on üksnes kaks aspekti, samas kui mari keeles

leiti käesolevas väitekirjas koguni 38 sõna, mida saab aspektuaalse modifikaatorina kasutada. Lisaks on mari keeles veel palju järelliiteid, millega saab verbi aspekti muuta. Kokku on kauakestvaid tegevusi tähistavaid konverbe ja järelliiteid 15 ning perfektivseid tegevusi tähistavaid konverbe ja järelliiteid 23.

Tehtud töös õnnestus illustreerida erinevate sõnade vahelisi erinevusi – näiteks kasutavad marid sõna *кодаш* („jääma“) ainult siis, kui tegevuse tulemus on näiline ja sõna *ончаш* („vaatama“) ainult siis, kui inimene proovib tegevust teha ilma selle tegevuse lõpptulemust teadmata. Aeg-ajalt tundub siiski, et see süsteem on mõnevõrra redundantne. Ainult kirjanduse põhjal on keeruline välja selgitada, kas kahte sarnasena tunduvat sõna saab igas olukorras omavahel vahetada. Selle jaoks oleks vaja korraldada uurimistöö Marimaal. See on vaid üks küsimustest, mis jääb ootama vastuseid doktoritöös.

E Curriculum Vitae

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Born in Vienna, Austria, 6 November 1984

Nationality: USA

Education

- 2004 Finished schooling
- 2004 Studies at the University of Helsinki, Finland
- 2005- Studies at the Vienna University of Technology, the University of Vienna and the Medical University of Vienna
- 2006 Bachelor of Science (Medical Computer Science) at the Vienna University of Technology
- 2007 Master of Science (Medical Computer Science) at the Vienna University of Technology
- 2008 Bachelor of Philosophy (Finnish Studies) at the University of Vienna
- 2009 Master of Social Sciences (Computer Management) at the Vienna University of Technology

Employment

- 2009- University of Vienna, researcher
- 2007-2009 University of Vienna, Estonian language tutor
- 2004-2008 Austria Sprachendienst, freelance translator of marketing texts
FESSEL-GfK, freelance translator of market research materials
- 2004 Gutwinski Management GmbH, travel assistant
- 2002 AKG Acoustics, computer technician
- 2000 Biegler Medical Electronics, assembly of medical equipment

Scientific Publications

2009

Syntactic Ambiguity Amidst Contextual Clarity - Reproducing Human Indifference to Linguistic Vagueness, Proceedings of International Seminar on Soft Computing in Humanities and Social Sciences, September 2009, Mieres, Spain. (forthcoming)

2007

Fuzzy Logic as a Theory of Vagueness: 15 Conceptual Questions, EUSFLAT 2007, September 2007, Ostrava, Czech Republic; in: *Views on Fuzzy Sets and Systems from Different Perspectives*, edited by Rudolf Seising, March 2009, Springer, Berlin, Germany.

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2006

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